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TO ENGLISH HISTORY

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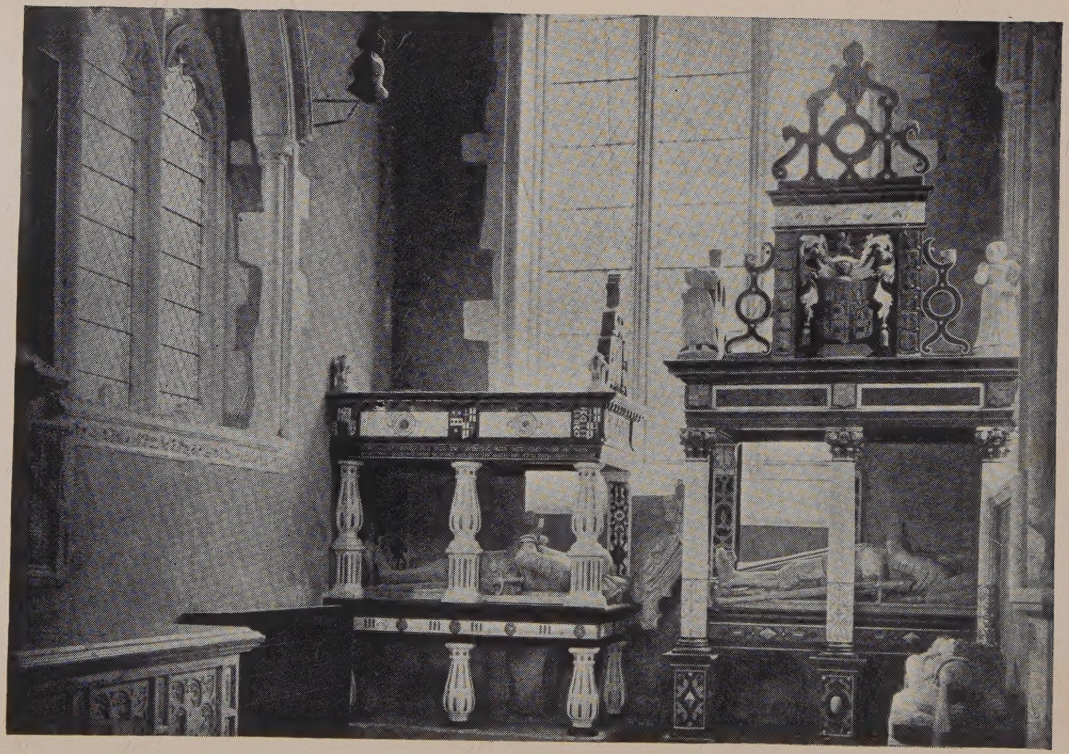

ELIZABETHAN TOMBS OF PEYTON FAMILY, ISLEHAM CHURCH, CAMBS.

COMPANION TO ENGLISH HISTORY

(MIDDLE AGES)

EDITED BY

FRANCIS PIERREPONT BARNARD, M.A., F.S.A.

WITH NINETY-SEVEN PLATES

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH this volume is designed primarily for higher educational purposes, it is believed that it will also prove of interest to the reading public at large.

The portion of history covered by the general scheme of the book is the medieval period. It being however manifestly impossible that every one of the twelve Sections, dealing as they do with topics so diverse, should be comprised between the same pair of fixed dates, it was arranged that the volume, as a whole, should begin with the English Conquest of Britain and end with the close of the sixteenth century; but that any special and important subject, or branch of a subject, which died out in the natural course of things before 1700, might be completed, if its completion were necessary or conducive to a clear understanding of it. There was little difficulty in establishing a uniformity of beginning except as regards Section IX, in which, owing to the Irish origin of the Christianity of Northern England, the account of monasticism had to be carried back to British times.

Here and there may be found a slight overlapping in several of the Sections; but this, apart from being unavoidable, will not be without its advantage in illustrating the connexion and interdependence of the matters treated. The concluding Section, too, is to some extent a summary of, and commentary upon, certain of the preceding chapters.

The courtesy of owners of drawings, blocks, or photographs, who have kindly placed them at my disposal is acknowledged particularly in the list of plates; but my

especial thanks are due, either for this form of assistance or for help with the proof-sheets, to J. Wreghitt Connon, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.; R. C. Clephan, Esq., F.S.A.; C. H. Athill, Esq., F.S.A., Richmond Herald; the Rev. Dr. Greenwell, F.R.S., F.S.A.; the Rev. C. F. Routledge, F.S.A.; the Hon. Hugh St. Leger; W. T. Bensley, Esq., F.S.A. (Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society); W. J. Cripps, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.; and to each and all of my colleagues.

Most, however, of the illustrations have been specially drawn or photographed for the book, and all that could be made from the objects themselves have been so made.

Among the numerous public examinations, courses of study, and classes, to which the *Companion to English History* will probably be appropriate, may be mentioned the Oxford and Cambridge Higher and Senior Local Examinations, the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Certificate Examination, the University Extension Lectures, the National Home Reading Union, the higher forms in the First-grade Public Schools, and many University and College courses in Great Britain, the Colonies, and the United States of America.

F. P. B.

St. Mary's Abbey, Windermere.

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I

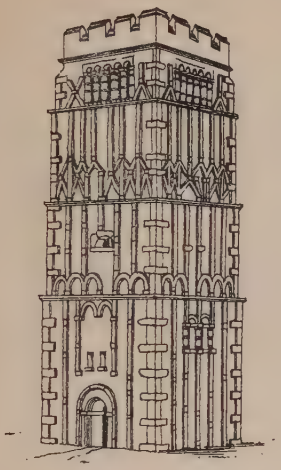
ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

1. Introductory.

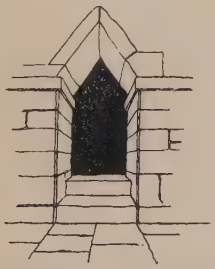
Architecture, both word and thing, comes to us, through the Latin *architectura*, from the Greek ἀρχιτέκτων, a master builder. It means, literally, the master art, to which colouring and carving are subordinated; and it implies an artistic method of building, according to fixed principles. The term *fixed*, however, like the term *artistic*, must not be applied to architecture as a whole. There is a fixed science and practice of architecture, which depends upon the rules of sound construction, so far as they are influenced by the laws of nature, and by the qualities of the material employed; but there is no fixed art in building. The art in it must vary according to the different styles; though each style must be true to its own principles and laws. The excellencies of any style are to be measured solely by its adherence to its own laws of beauty, of construction, and of development. No style should ever be judged by another or compared with another, favourably or unfavourably. Every style, so far as it may be artistic and interesting, has its own standards of right and wrong, by which alone it should be measured; and its own sphere of activity or use, in which alone it can be held to succeed or fail. Prehistoric monuments, Egyptian, Assyrian, and other Oriental architectures, have their various modes, their merits and their defects; but no sane person compares them one with another. A similar moderation or sanity is not always observed, as it should be, in discussions about those later styles which we call Grecian, Roman, or Gothic respectively. Ecclesiastical Gothic architecture contains much that is very good, without having a monopoly

of goodness, or an immunity from blemishes and blunders. There is much that is no less good in its progenitors, in the many generations of Grecian and Roman buildings. Nevertheless, the style of these buildings is very different from the Gothic style; and their several purposes were also different from one another. 'Henceforth,' that is from the middle of the fifth century, 'we shall find no forum, no public baths, theatres, temples, or houses. All these forms disappear, and for nearly 700 years, until the time when the Norman Castle arose, well-nigh every building of architectual merit was in some way or other ecclesiastical.'

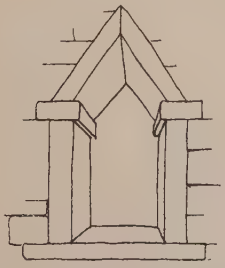
Roman architecture is, beyond all doubt, the parent of those buildings which we describe commonly and too loosely as Gothic. The churches which were erected by Constantine were modelled on the plan of the *Basilicas* or courts of justice, and as the pagan civilization became extinct, disused temples and other public buildings were appropriated to the uses of Christian worship. When the Roman Empire in the West of Europe was finally replaced by the kingdoms established by the Northern invaders, the traditions of the Roman way of building were continued, but in rude and debased forms. As the Barbarians advanced in skill and fancifulness, their buildings came to be more elaborate than the old Roman models. Roman architecture, also made wanton by the Orientals, produced that Byzantine style of which St. Mark's Church at Venice is the most notorious example in Western Europe; but various buildings in the South of France show traces of the same influence. Roman architecture, adapted and modified by the Western Barbarians, produced the Romanesque style, as we see it in the North of Italy and along the Rhine. This Romanesque style is the only true and proper Gothic, if we employ the word literally; because it was the architecture of those Goths and Longobards who conquered Italy, and adapted the majestic Roman buildings to their own purposes and notions. It is quite easy to see how the Imperial *Basilica* was turned into the Romanesque church, and how this again was improved into the Norman. The Romanesque or genuine Gothic style began about the fifth century and, through its descendants, the



1. TOWER, EARL'S BARTON CHURCH.



2. ANGLO-SAXON TRIANGULAR-HEADED DOOR



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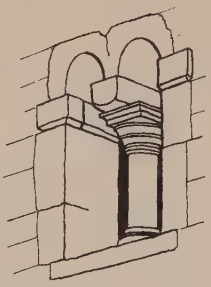

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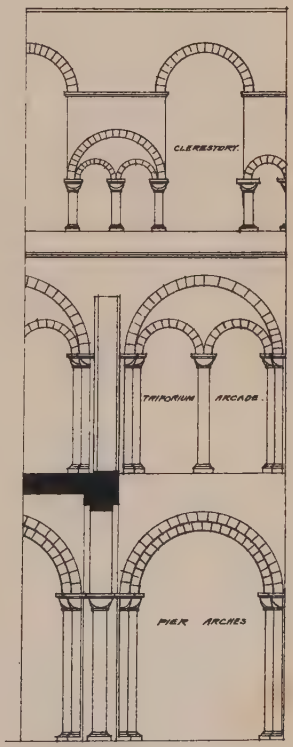

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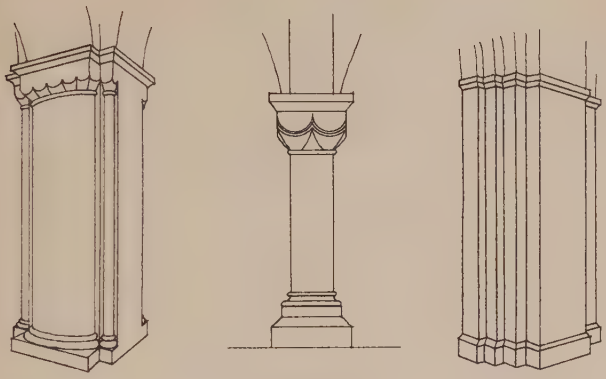

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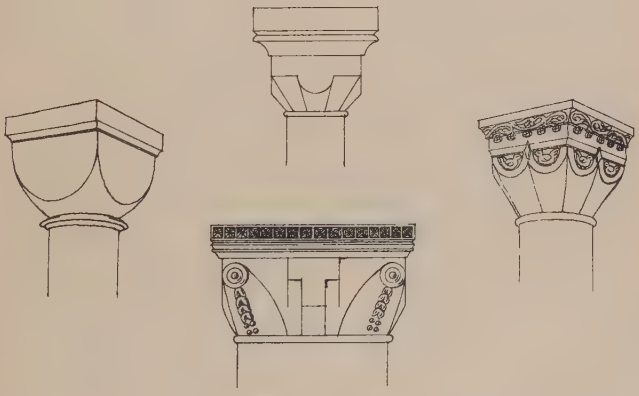

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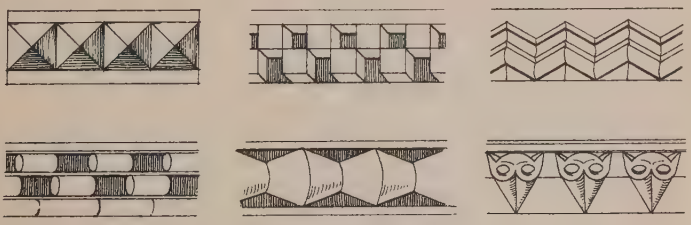


NORMAN ORNAMENTS

A.R. BROWN.

Anglo-Saxon and the Norman styles, it lasted until near the middle of the twelfth, when the Pointed arch began to displace the Round: and those various modes of Pointed architecture, which are described generally as Gothic, ran through their natural developments; from the conventional stiffness and thinness of the first Early English manner to the superb and ordered freedom of Decorated Art. This perished, in the end, of its own luxuriance, and passed into the stateliness of the Perpendicular, which itself degenerated into a senile and swelling pomposity, until the Pointed arch was curved again into Roman shapes, or even flattened into the horizontal forms of Grecian temples. Thus the art of building in Western Europe returned in some degree towards the severe models of its originators; though the pseudo-classical buildings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in England, cannot hide all traces of the experiences, experiments, and emotions through which architecture had passed in the hands of the medieval builders.

2. Periods of Architecture.

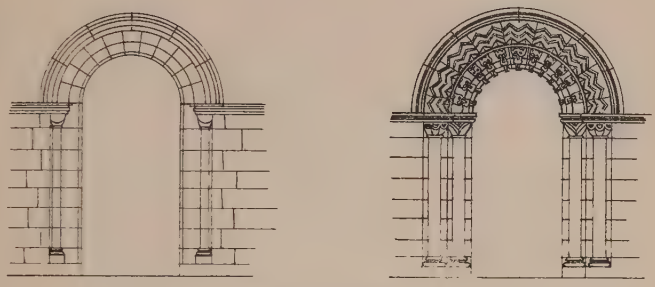
The technical portion of this essay is concerned only with these medieval styles and variations as they appear in England; and, before passing on to describe their forms, it will be serviceable to date them, or to divide them loosely into periods, to which certain conventional names are attached.

1. Anglo-Saxon, from after . . . . . 600 to about 1050
2. Norman, from about . . . . . 1050 to about 1189
3. Early English, from about . . . . 1189 to about 1272
4. Decorated, from about . . . . . 1272 to about 1377
5. Perpendicular, from about . . . . 1377 to about 1550
   (but instances are found as early as 1337).

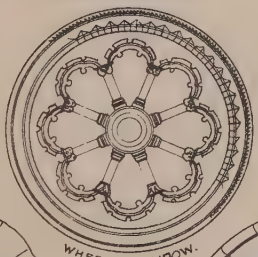
It must be remembered that all these dates and periods are approximate and not exact. The styles overlap and blend more freely than any table can allow for. For this gradual blending or merging of one style into another the phrase

Transition, or *Transitional*, is used. Particular buildings may be in advance of the prevailing fashion, or behind it, according to individual or local tastes; but these divisions are accurate enough to give us an historical notion of English architecture; and they enable us to date, within a narrow limit of time, any building we meet with. There is no difference of style between the English and the Continental mode of building, from the seventh to the eleventh century, but only a difference of constructive and of decorative skill. The art and architecture of the Northmen in Britain and in Gaul would be distinguished more truly if we described them as Anglo-Scandinavian and Franco-Scandinavian respectively. The builders in each country were of Scandinavian blood: the differences between their buildings were caused by the higher or the lower civilization, by the finer or the poorer models, which the Romans had left behind them in their provinces of Gaul and Britain.

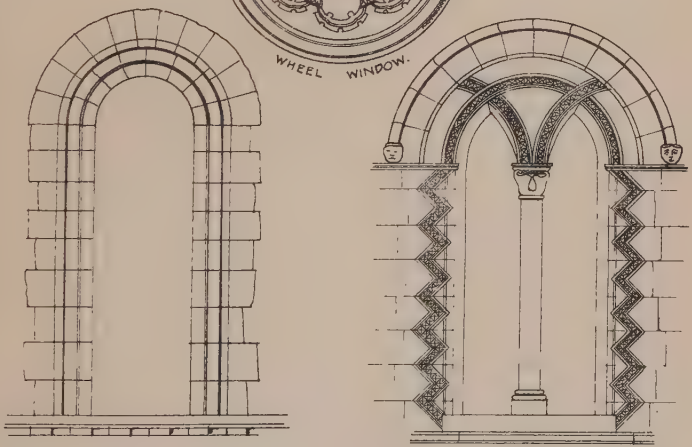
It is impossible to say precisely when the Perpendicular style merges into its latest form, which is commonly called Tudor. We cannot give an exact date for the beginning of this *Transition*; but the earliest or English Tudor, as we may call it, which is medieval in character, and is clearly a development of Perpendicular, may be described as lasting until about 1570. After this date we find the later or Italian or Renaissance Tudor, in which the classical sentiment prevails gradually over the barbarian [Pl. XIX, Elizabethan Doorway]. The change is less marked in ecclesiastical than in domestic buildings, and in funeral monuments. It tells us that we have left the Middle Ages behind, with all their fashions and modes of thought; and that we have reached the fuller life of the Elizabethan and Jacobean age. From the extravagances and grotesqueness of these styles we pass to the correct and finer building of Inigo Jones and Wren, in which details, construction, and sentiment are all classical; though these two artists always adapted the teaching of their Italian masters to the spirit, the necessities, the surroundings, and the comfortable traditions of English architecture.



NORMAN DOORS.

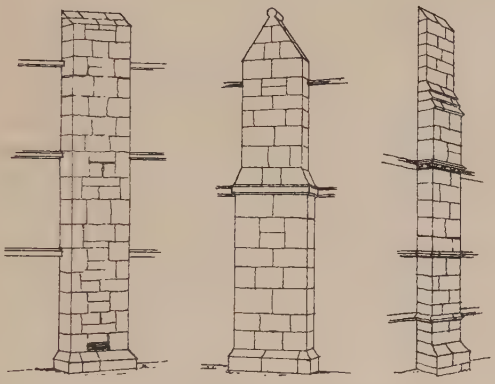


WHEEL WINDOW.

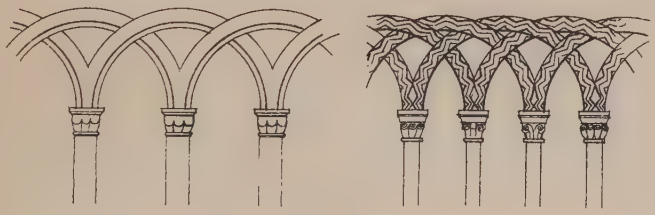


NORMAN WINDOWS.

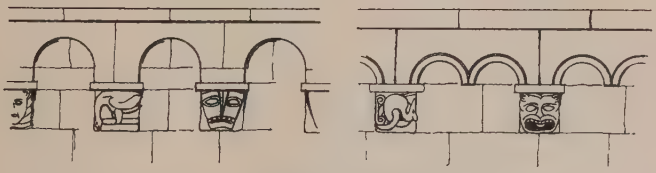
A.R BROWN



NORMAN BUTTRESSES



NORMAN ARCADES.



NORMAN CORBEL-TABLES.

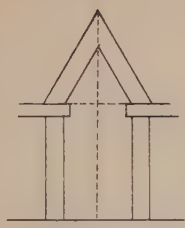
A.R.BROWN.

3. Anglo-Saxon.

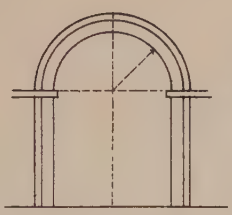
There are few specimens left of unaltered Anglo-Saxon buildings. Many, it is probable, were destroyed by the later Scandinavian conquerors in the ninth and tenth centuries. Others were destroyed by later architects. Such alterations are described too commonly as improvements. Our own age has the effrontery to call them restorations. The ravages of pirates and marauders were less criminal and melancholy than too many of our own exploits in architectural devastation. Anglo-Saxon churches are small. They are rectangular or cruciform in shape, and without aisles. A lofty square tower, without buttresses, crowned sometimes with a low pyramidal roof, stands either at the west end, or at the intersection of the nave and transepts, if the church be cruciform. The walls are usually of rubble or of small stones, coated with rough-cast or with plaster. The corners of the building are both adorned and strengthened with blocks of dressed stone, placed alternately in short horizontal and in long upright layers. This is called *long and short work.* It served as a tie or bond for the rubble work. Ribs or strips of long and short work, generally squared, but sometimes rounded, and projecting a few inches from the surface of the wall, thus forming a rude pilaster, are found placed vertically upon the building. *String-courses* of the same kind run horizontally along the walls. These decorations give the appearance of panelling in wood. Tiles are introduced sometimes as a decoration, placed either horizontally or in a *herring-bone* pattern. This was copied obviously from Roman models. The windows were very small, generally with one light, and are splayed equally inside and out, the wicker-work, or oiled parchment, that did duty in place of glass being thus set in far enough to be protected from the weather. All windows of later periods are narrower outside than at the inner surface of the wall. Their tops are round, usually, and occasionally triangular [Pl. 1]. The doors match the windows, but the triangular top is more common [Pl. 1]. The arches are round; and they are supported on pillars having sometimes a plain, square *abacus,* which is moulded or chamfered

in many instances. Windows are found in the towers, with two lights, divided by squat and swelling balusters; though some of them are most graceful and classical in appearance. Anglo-Saxon crypts are found below a few of our larger and older churches. In some, as at Ripon, they are all that remains to us of the earliest building. The crypt of Repton, in Derbyshire, with its massive semicircular arches, its squared and chamfered capitals, the raised spiral design of its columns, and the fluted pilasters, is wonderfully Roman in detail and sentiment.

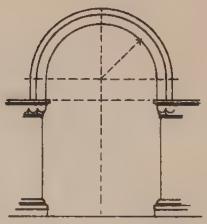
The Anglo-Saxon style appears in its beginning to have been the attempt of builders more accustomed to work in wood than in stone to imitate such fragments of Roman building as had survived the wars of conquest and settlement. With more and finer models to copy, the continental Barbarians soon developed the Romanesque or proper Gothic style, the parent of the Norman. Our own forefathers before the tenth century, with poorer models, and with no skilled labour at their command, only achieved the Anglo-Saxon style, the rudest daughter of the Roman; and, as it would appear, they built at first more commonly in wood than in stone. None of these wooden buildings remain to us, except possibly the nave of Greenstead Church in Essex; but the style of decoration and construction proper to wood was continued and reproduced by the earliest builders when stone had come to be substituted for it. Hence, no doubt, the ribs, the string-courses, and the reminiscence of panelling upon the walls; and, it may be, the long and short work at the corners: all of them suggesting wattle and dab or lath and plaster in a framework of wooden beams. The most interesting details which remain of this style are to be found in some of the church towers. Of these, perhaps, the finest and most interesting is at Earl's Barton [Pl. 1]. The detail of this tower gives us the clear impression of a design made originally for wood, and copied into stone; in other words, it is the design of a carpenter executed by a mason. The parapet is comparatively recent; the tower probably terminated in a pyramidal roof. At a later period the mouldings of Anglo-Saxon architecture were elaborated, and the whole scheme of



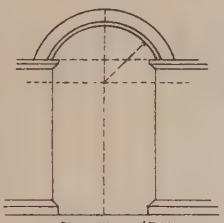
1. TRIANGULAR-HEADED ARCH.



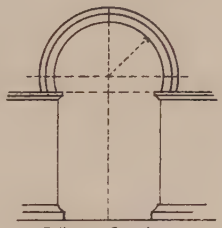
2. SEMICIRCULAR ARCH.



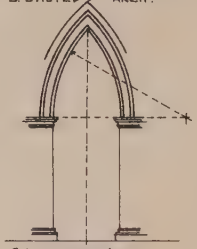
3. STILTED ARCH.



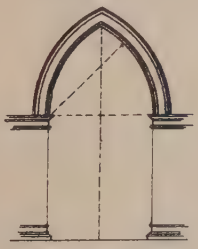
4. SEGMENTAL ARCH.



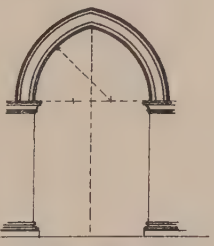
5. HORSE-SHOE ARCH.



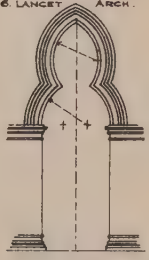
6. LANCET ARCH.



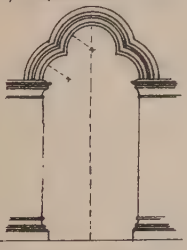
7. EQUILATERAL ARCH.



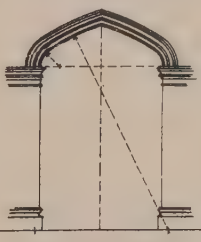
8. OBTUSE ANGLE ARCH.



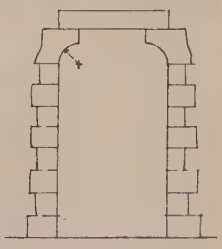
9. POINTED TREFOIL ARCH.



10. ROUND-HEADED TREFOIL ARCH.



11. FOUR CENTRED TUDOR ARCH.



12. SQUARE-HEADED TREFOIL ARCH.

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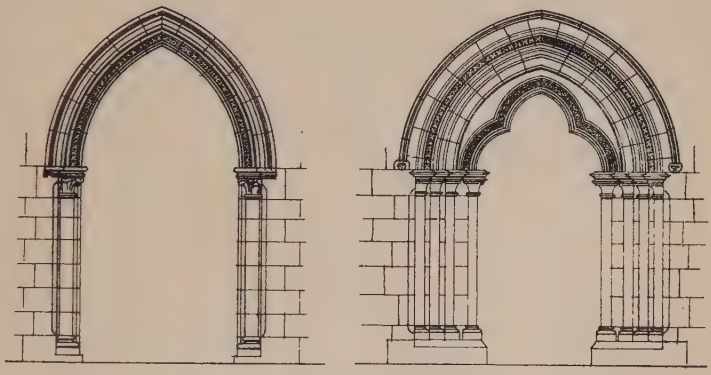
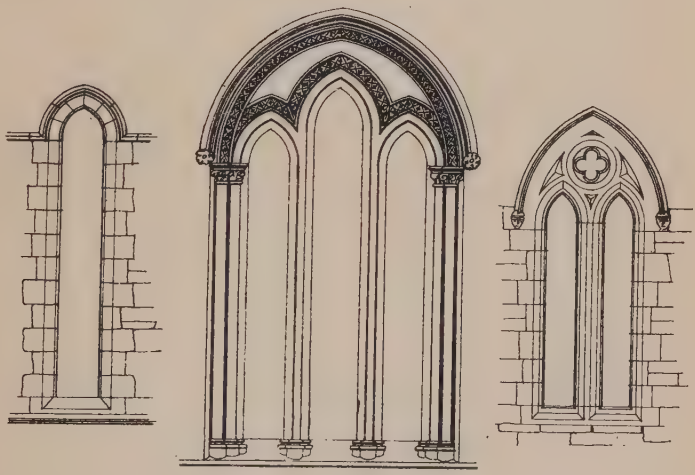


EARLY ENGLISH DOORS.



EARLY ENGLISH WINDOWS.

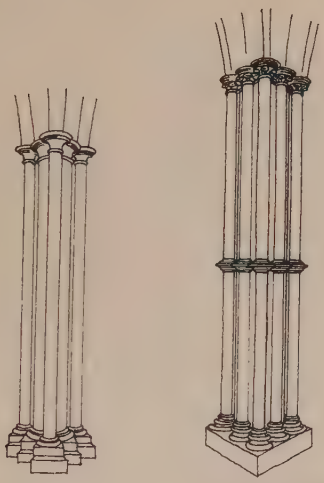
A.R. BROWN.

decoration was more obviously designed for stone. Animals and other figures in low relief are found sculptured on capitals, and on the *tympana* of doorways. We read of glass, of metal work, and of musical instruments being brought into England; as well as of masons and decorators from abroad. About the middle of the eleventh century we find Normans established in English bishoprics and abbeys, and in Edward the Confessor a semi-Norman king reigning at Westminster. Under their patronage Norman building was introduced; and through this artistic and political Transition we pass to the Conquest, and to the establishment among us of an Anglo-Norman style.

4. Norman.

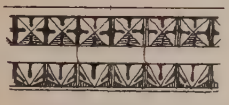
This great style was developed by that race or polity of the Barbarians which had most affinity of spirit with the Romans. It is found in Normandy itself, in England, in Italy and Sicily; wherever these magnificent conquerors and rulers established themselves, and left their mark. It exhibits the strength, the massiveness, the exuberant vigour, and that stern genius for order, which were among the endowments of this aristocratic and splendid race. Franco-Scandinavian architecture resembled the Anglo-Scandinavian in form and style, differing from it only in superior size, and skill, and richness, for the reasons which have been suggested. The earliest Norman work in England, as the transepts of Winchester [Pl. 1], is almost as plain as Anglo-Saxon; and the Confessor's own abbey church at Westminster was probably of a similar design. The style soon became richer and more decorative, perhaps through oriental influences due to the Crusades. The activity of the Norman builders and conquerors is amazing. All the cathedrals and greater churches, which existed in the eleventh century, were rebuilt and many others were founded. One hundred and ninety-five religious houses were built under the Conqueror and his sons in the seventy years of their three reigns. The abbey church at Romsey and the cathedral at Peterborough show us the scale of Norman monasteries. The Norman churches are larger and higher than the Anglo-Saxon. Their vaults and arches

have a much greater height and span. In shape they are generally cruciform, with a square tower at the intersection of the nave and transepts. These towers are low and massive. They usually contain windows with two lights. The solemn plainness of the exterior is relieved sometimes in the higher storeys by blank arcades. They are surmounted occasionally by a low pyramidal roof of tile or stone ; and out of this grew the tall Early English spire, through the stunted spires of the Transition. The nave is usually flanked by two aisles, which are often continued through the transepts along the sides of the choir. The choir ends in many cases with a semicircular apse. This was derived from the place and shape of the tribune, or magisterial bench, in Imperial *Basilicas.* From the rows of columns dividing a *Basilica* we may also trace the origin of the nave and aisles in the Romanesque and Norman churches. When this mode became conventional in the later styles, and its true origin was forgotten, mystical or whimsical reasons were assigned for the internal form of churches. The interior wall-spaces of the nave, in the bigger churches, are divided into three storeys or stages, separated from one another by horizontal courses [Pl. I]. The ground storey consists of wide, round arches resting on piers or massive pillars [Pl. II]. In the second storey or *triforium* are usually two smaller arches, resting at their spring on piers, divided and supported in the middle by a single column, and the whole enclosed within a bigger arch, corresponding to the arch of the nave below. The triforium, called *blind storey,* because it gave no light, opened usually into a space between the roof and vaulting of the aisles. The uppermost stage, or *clerestorey,* has two and sometimes three semicircular arches, resting on pillars, and divided from one another by single columns. If there be three arches, the middle arch alone is pierced through, and forms a window. The entire division thus constituted a *bay.* The clerestorey, that is the open or pierced storey, is higher than the roof of the aisles, and so afforded a means of lighting the nave from the top [Pl. I]. Norman roofs are semicircular, either of stone vaulting or of wood, or of flat wood, as at Peterborough. Norman piers and mouldings may be studied

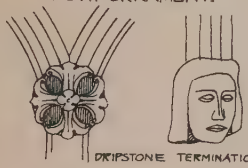


EARLY ENGLISH PIERS.

EARLY ENGLISH CAPITALS.



TOOTH ORNAMENT.



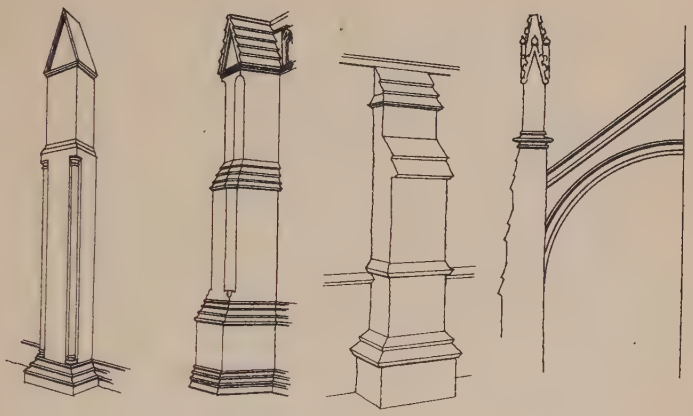
DRIPSTONE TERMINATIONS.

CROCKET.

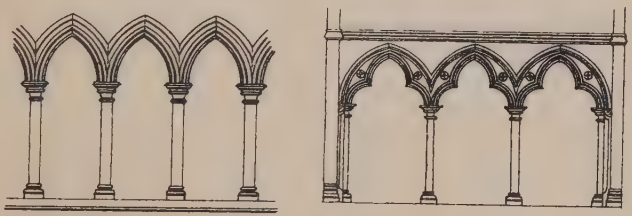
DIAPER WORK.

EARLY ENGLISH ORNAMENTS.

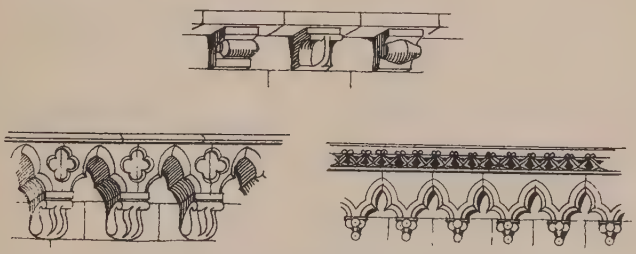
A.R. BROWN.



EARLY ENGLISH BUTTRESSES.



EARLY ENGLISH ARCADES.



EARLY ENGLISH CORBEL TABLES.

A.R. BROWN.

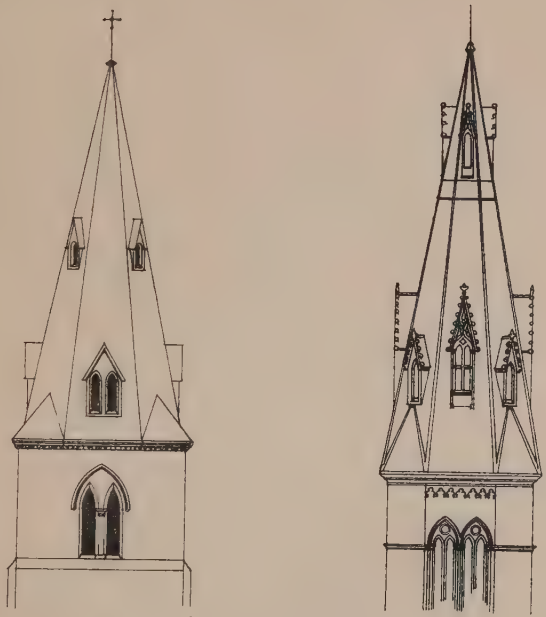
in Pl. II. The classical patterns in some of the later Norman work should be noticed carefully. Early Norman windows are mere slits in the outer wall, but splayed. The massive walls and towers, and the small windows, which we find until the last quarter of the twelfth century, bear witness to the rudeness and violence of those ages, when churches could be used as fortresses, or as places of refuge. The heads of Norman windows [Pl. III] are usually round, though pointed sometimes in later work. Later windows have their heads and hoods moulded with chevrons, billets, &c., resting on angle-shafts with cushion capitals, a string-course running below the sills and forming a horizontal decoration. The blank spaces of the walls are relieved perpendicularly by pilaster buttresses, more for ornament than for use, the massive walls with their hard concrete cores requiring no prop [Pl. IV]. A more elaborate effect was given by blank arcades, with interlacing arches, and circular windows added to this effect, balancing the arches. Such windows were small and plain at first, mere circles; then they were made larger, and were richly sculptured, and the circles were divided by radiating pillars or shafts, one of the earliest forms of tracery [Pl. III]. More elaborate than the windows are the Norman doors and porches. These are boldly and curiously sculptured with rude but most effective designs [Pl. III]. The inside of the church is usually plain, except the chancel arch, upon which the Norman sculptors lavished the whole of their resources; partly, no doubt, for the effect, this arch being a kind of inner portal or porch, leading to the holy place. Normal detail and ornament will be understood better from the illustrations than from any description in words [Plates II; IV]. It need only be said that a *corbel* is a sculptured stone, projecting to support a weight. A row of corbels, supporting a parapet or cornice, is known as a *corbel-table*. The characteristics of the Norman style are massiveness of construction; round arches; big round pillars, occasionally incised spirally or with zigzags; cushion or other capitals often almost classical in design; and bold, rude, but lavish and effective sculpture, done in a broad freehand style. Thin imitations of Norman, mathematically exact and stiff, are

the most offensive of all our so-called restorations. Norman carving was probably thrown into relief by brilliant and strongly contrasting pigments. In the interlacing arcades, of which we have spoken [Pl. IV], pointed arches are formed by the intersection of the round arches; and the effect thus gained has been imagined by some antiquaries to be the origin of the Pointed style. Others have derived the Pointed arch from Eastern or Moorish influences, which they attribute to the Crusades; and this view is not incompatible with dates. To these oriental influences, perhaps, we should attribute the luxuriant decoration of the later Norman. Whatever the cause, the massive round arches of the Norman builders became lighter in the twelfth century, and were gradually pointed. The two styles merge into one another through the Transition of Henry II. The architecture of this period of transition, which is of singular charm and interest, may be seen at Canterbury in its highest perfection. It may be studied with great advantage at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, where the capitals are most suggestive. The fragments of the ruined chapel of Joseph of Arimathea, at Glastonbury, are exceedingly beautiful; and so we pass on to the Early English, often spoken of by ecclesiologists as the Lancet, Geometrical, or First Pointed style.

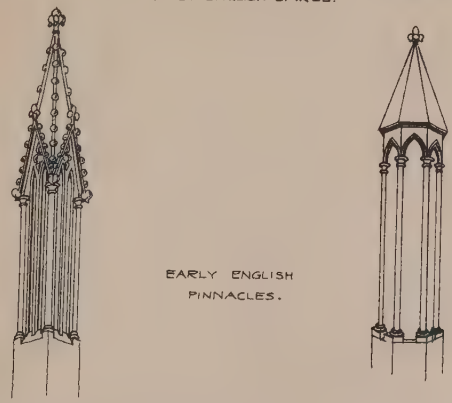
In Plate V are given different forms of the arch. In the round arch, if the centre be level with the spring, we have a semicircle: if below the spring, a segmental arch: if above the spring, a stilted arch, or a horse-shoe, according to whether the continuation be straight or curved. The Lancet arch is formed over the two sides of an imaginary isosceles triangle. The Equilateral arch is formed upon the proportions of an equilateral triangle.

5. Early English.

The Lancet or First Pointed style is very simple in character, and in the beginning was very plain. The arches, doors, and windows are of a Lancet form. Tall and slender spires were added to the square towers of the Normans. The buttresses grew out from the walls, and then developed into the flying

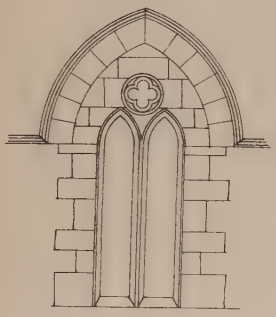


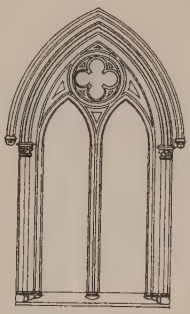
EARLY ENGLISH SPIRES.

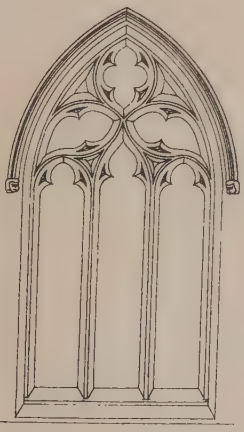


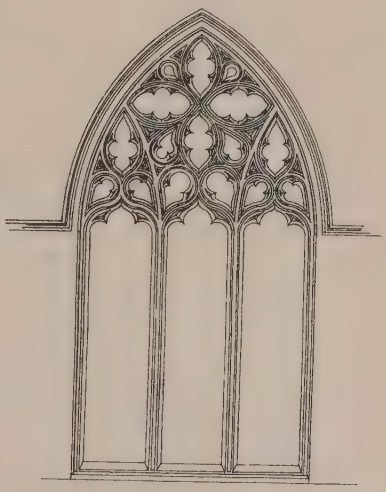
EARLY ENGLISH
PINNACLES.

A.R. BROWN.









THE DEVELOPMENT
FROM GEOMETRIC TO FLOWING TRACERY.

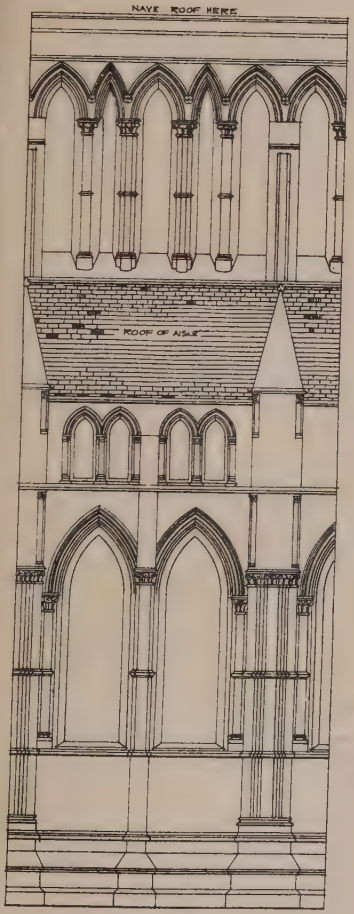
A.R. BROWN

buttress. Both these changes were made necessary by the weakness and thinness of the walls, which could not resist the outward thrust of the high roofs. Mouldings were decorated with *crockets* and *finials* in conventional designs of foliage, sculptured on their upper surfaces; and the tops of buttresses were drawn up into long *pinnacles*. The solid Norman piers were replaced by clusters of small, cylindrical and often detached banded shafts, of dark Portland or Purbeck marble, which stood out, in form and colour, against the paler central stone pier. This contrast of dark and white in colour is repeated in the deep, curved sculpture of the mouldings, with their contrasts of light and shade. The ornamentation is conventional and stiff. Blank wall spaces are relieved by carvings in *diaper work*. Plates VI, VII, VIII, and IX show the details and character of the Lancet style. The characteristics of it are the Lancet arch, the *bell capital*, the conventional foliage, *the dog-tooth ornament*. Plate VI shows Early English doorways, and also how the single Lancet window was doubled, and pierced above the lancets with trefoil or quatrefoil openings. These piercings, or *plate-traceries*, led at first to the geometrical designs of the complete Pointed style, in which equilateral and trefoiled arches replace the simpler Lancet; and then the upper mullions were developed into the free and more elaborate tracery used by the Decorated artists. Salisbury Cathedral is the largest and most uniform example of the Lancet style. The choir of Worcester is a noble specimen. Lincoln is a rich example of the more complete geometrical style of the thirteenth century [Pl. XI].

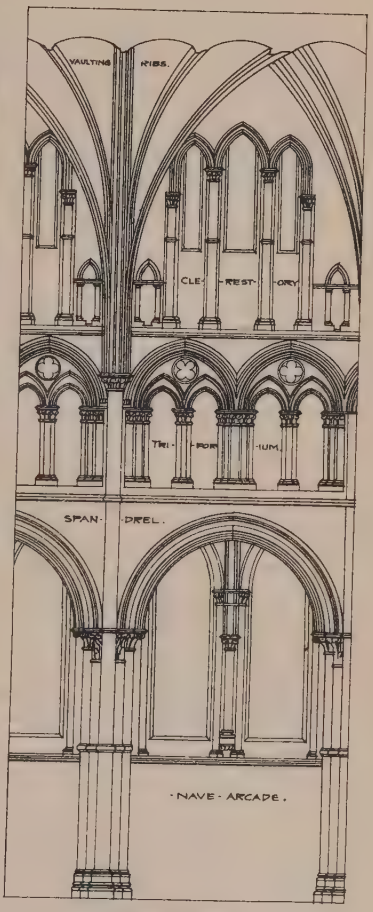
6. Decorated.

The Geometrical Pointed was developed very gradually into the Decorated style, through the Transition of Edward I. Both styles have the equilateral arch; but the distinction between them is always unmistakable when we can judge by mouldings and ornamentation. The tracery of the windows, but more particularly the mouldings, afford the surest evidence of the Decorated style. As the arches became broader, mullions or vertical bars of masonry were required for their support,

dividing the windows into lights; and they were turned by the Decorated artists into the beautiful and flowing tracery of that style, which has given its name of Curvilinear or Flowing to the Middle Pointed or Decorated Architecture, as distinguished from the Geometrical and First Pointed style. The evolution from *plate-tracery*, in which a flat surface is pierced, as in the first illustration on Plate x, to *bar-tracery* is curious and instructive. The magnificence and beauty of these windows are its chief characteristic. Round or rose windows appear again [Pl. xii], and they must be distinguished from the wheel or shafted radiating windows of the Normans [Pl. iii]. The Decorated piers, if clustered, are usually not detached as was commonly the case in Early English; but very often they are flat-faced and octagonal [Pl. xiii]. The capitals are generally octagonal or bell-shaped. The ornamentation of the capitals is more free and realistic than in Early English, and more rich than the Perpendicular [Pl. xiii]. The characteristic ornament is the *ball flower* or *cup and flower* [Pl. xiii], which may be triangular or square in form, with four petals or with three. The vaulting is elaborate and skilful, with an almost infinite variety of ribs and groining. *Sedilia*, the carved and canopied seats for the sacrificing clergy, are found in the south side of the chancel walls. Pierced and sometimes battlemented parapets, at the junction of the walls and the roof, are also characteristic of this style, and replace the stiff corbel-tables of the previous builders [Pl. xiv]. The *gargoyles*, or grotesque gutter-spouts, in the shape of men and monsters pouring water from their mouths, are a noticeable feature. Crockets and finials become more numerous and rich as the style advances, and the diapers freer and more elaborate [Pl. xiii]. The buttresses are ornamented with niches and figures, or with panels [Pl. xiv]. The flying buttresses are both ingenious and beautiful. The spires of this period are of remarkable size and beauty [Pl. xx, 1]. The workmanship and designs of this century are superior to those of any other. Decorated is, in Pointed architecture, the supreme effort and culmination, to which the Lancet style had led up, and from which the Perpendicular declined. It is to be seen in great

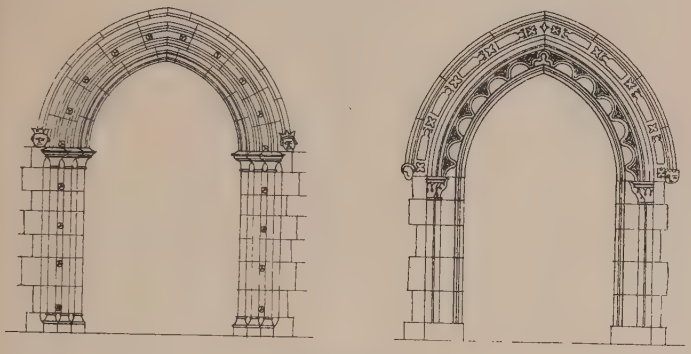


EXTERNAL VIEW.

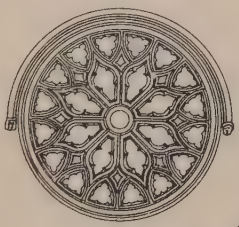


INTERNAL VIEW.

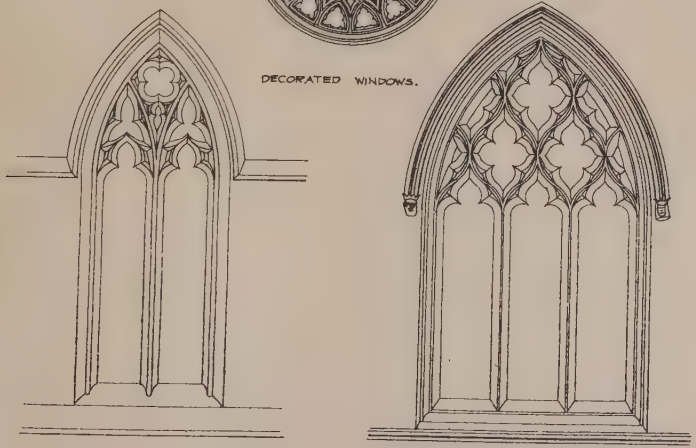
AR BROWN



DECORATED DOORWAYS.



DECORATED WINDOWS.

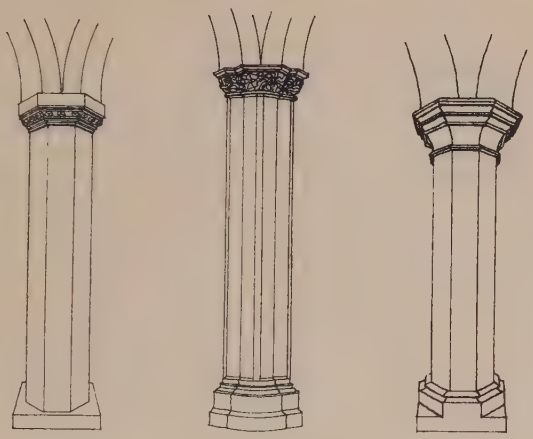


beauty and perfection at Exeter and Wells, and on a larger scale at York. The western front of York is, assuredly, among the chief architectural glories of our island. This style was literally killed in the end by the excesses of its own perfection, or by the exuberant facility of its artists.

7. Perpendicular.

The Perpendicular style, in its beginning, and in the hands of Wykeham, was no doubt the healthy and ordered protest of a genius against the defects and excesses of the later Decorated. But, as Professor Willis pointed out, the origin of this style is to be found at Gloucester as early as 1337, where the Norman work was overlaid with a veil of extraordinary Perpendicular, paid for by offerings at the tomb of Edward II, so that the grave of a king became the cradle of a new architectural fashion. The windows, as usual, serve best to distinguish between the styles. As the windows become broader, the arch is flattened: as they become larger, the mullions are lengthened, until they reach without a break from the sill to the head of the arch, thus cutting and narrowing the more flowing Decorated tracery [Pl. xv]. From these long upright mullions the Perpendicular style is named. As the style develops, the mullions are crossed by horizontal bars, or *transoms*; and these are intersected again by smaller mullions, which multiply the number of lights above. These smaller lights are united under the great arch of the window by separate arches formed out of the tracery. We have the effect of a big window separated into vertical sections and subdivided into panels. So large do the windows become at last, that instead of masonry and wall spaces we find a mere line of buttresses, which support a roof, and frame vast areas of coloured glass. As the style develops, round windows are replaced by square, windows and doors both incline to be square-headed, or to be square-hooded [Pl. xv]. The piers in this style have thin, plain shafts. The capitals are octagonal or circular, either chamfered or with poor carving. The bases are

often very tall, so that the shafts begin at some height from the ground. Sometimes, instead of a shaft distinct from the base and capital, the column is moulded or panelled in one sweep of design, from its base to the head of the arch [Pl. XVI]. The characteristic ornamentation of Perpendicular [Plates XVI; XVII] is the panelling, which replaces the diaper, and often covers the whole surface of the walls. The windows, too, give the effect of coloured panels. Badges and heraldic bearings are favourite decorations; especially the Tudor badges, the Portcullis and the Rose, and the so-called Tudor-flower [Pl. XVI]. Shields, either alone or supported by angels, are common, and give a dignified effect. The flatter roofs of this period correspond with the broader and lower pitch of the arches; and wooden roofs of magnificent construction and design have come down to us. They are of three kinds: flat, and with square panels; open, and of higher pitch; and groined. All three sorts are carved elaborately. The highest achievement in wooden roofs is the *hammer-beam* construction, such as that of Westminster Hall. The plans of wooden roofs given in Pl. XVIII explain the construction far better than any account in words. The stone roofs of this period are fine, and the most characteristic form is the *fan vaulting* [Pl. XIX], to be seen in Henry VII's chapel at Westminster. This graceful vaulting helps to relieve the flatness of Perpendicular roofs and arches. Beautiful wooden screens were made in the Perpendicular style; either *chancel screens*, dividing the nave and choir [Pl. LXXXVII], called also *rood screens*, because the great *rood* or crucifix was placed on or over them; or screens dividing chapels and tombs from the open church. The finest work of the Perpendicular artists was done in wood, which was their true material. All the panelling that we see at Westminster and King's College Chapel in Cambridge suggests a mistaken effort to produce in stone effects which can only be obtained satisfactorily and lawfully in wood. Hence, it may be, the feeling of weakness which is conveyed by the latest Perpendicular buildings, in spite of their size and richness. Perpendicular porches are numerous and large. They are panelled usually, and often have groined or fan vaultings. A room, with a characteristic window, is



DECORATED PIERS.

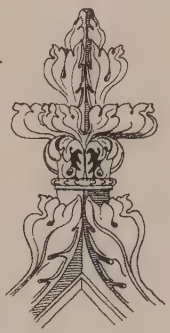
DECORATED CAPITALS

DECORATED ORNAMENTS.

BALL FLOWER

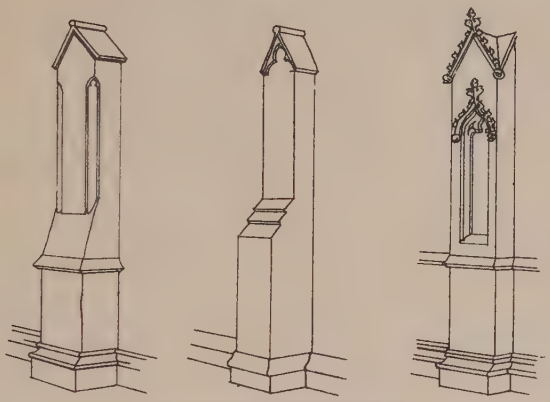
DIAPER WORK.

DRIPSTONE TERMINATION

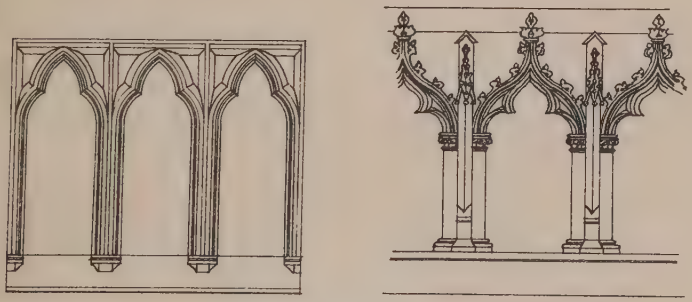


FINIAL AND CROCKETS

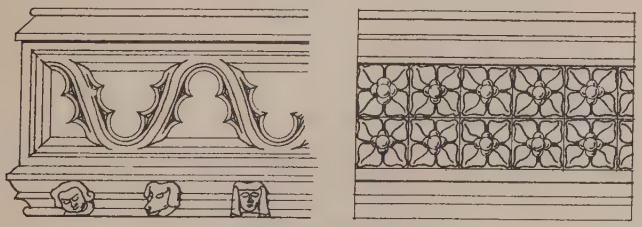
CORBEL HEAD.



DECORATED BUTTRESSES.



DECORATED ARCADES.



DECORATED PARAPETS.

A.R. BROWN.

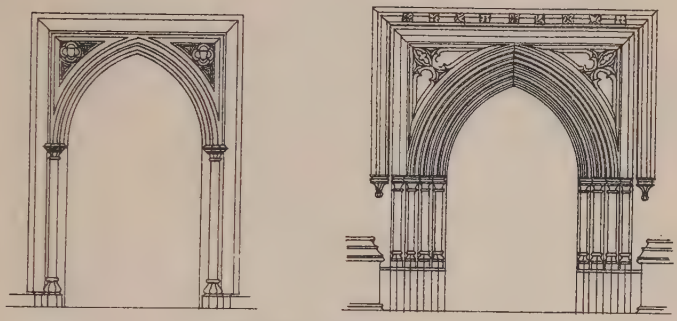
introduced sometimes between the vaulting and the roof, and communicating only with the church. These rooms may have been used as libraries. Some antiquaries think they were used by recluses or anchorets, who were cut off entirely from human intercourse. Some of them contain fireplaces and other necessary conveniences for students or devotees. The doorways [Pl. xv] of this style are florid and elaborate. Buttresses [Pl. xvii] and the masonry of doors and windows are filled with niches, containing figures: this form of decoration was suggested obviously by panelling. Towers, for the most part, take the place of spires. Throughout many districts they are numerous and fine, even in the country churches. The number and size of the Perpendicular churches are amazing, especially in small country parishes. The Perpendicular builders, no doubt, gave us much, but they were horribly destructive, especially to the roofs and windows of their predecessors. Even the grandeur and spaciousness of Wykeham's nave at Winchester hardly atone for the loss of the Norman piers and arches that are buried in it. The Perpendicular style is adapted equally for ecclesiastical and domestic purposes. For this reason it has been used effectively for colleges and monasteries. In its general effects it manages to blend stateliness with a homely and comfortable air. It is thoroughly English and practical in its capabilities and appearance. Magdalen tower in Oxford [Pl. xx, 2] may be named as one of the most beautiful specimens of Perpendicular: as it is one of the latest examples, before the Tudor, being attributed by some authorities to Wolsey in his early manhood, it stands literally 'whispering' to us 'with ineffable charm' 'the last enchantments of the middle age'; and so it may well and worthily close our description of the medieval styles.

8. Interior Arrangement of Churches.

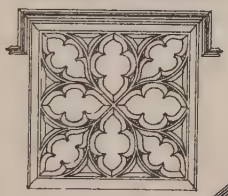
In Plate xxi a plan is given of Lincoln Cathedral. This will not only convey to the reader some notion of the form and ground-plan of the bigger churches, but will enable him to follow the account of their interior arrangement and uses.

The public entrance to a church was through the porch.

This was placed usually on the southern, more rarely on the northern side, and generally one bay towards the east, so as to leave a window to the west of it. Sometimes there is a porch on either side. In many churches, however, the entrance is through a western door, or by a kind of porch made in the tower. Sometimes the west entrance is enlarged into a sort of ante-chapel, and is called a *galilee*. There is a fine specimen at Durham, and a smaller at Ely. The galilee at Lincoln is on the western side of the south transept. In the porch was almost invariably a *stoup* for holy water, into which those entering dipped their fingers, and crossed themselves. The churching of women and parts of the baptismal and marriage services used to be read in the porch. The *font* was generally placed at the west end of the nave or aisles, near the chief entrance. There remain fonts of every date, and shape, and style, from Norman onwards. Spires and towers are almost invariably at the west end of the nave. Towers were used not only for defensive purposes in the border counties, but also as beacons or landmarks in districts near the coast. They were provided sometimes with *cressets* for the beacon lights. The bells which hung in them were used for the curfew and other public warnings, as well as for ecclesiastical purposes. Bells were used in Anglo-Saxon times, but there are few existing bells older than the fourteenth century. Medieval bells are usually inscribed with their names and dates. They were consecrated or christened with water and holy oil. Besides the great bells in the tower, there was generally, after the thirteenth century, a small sacring or sanctus bell, which was rung at the elevation of the host and chalice, and at other solemn parts of the mass. It hung in a small open arch or bell-cote, placed on the roof at the junction of the nave and chancel. The earliest seats were banks of masonry, fixed along the walls, and forming stone benches. Wooden seats or pews are seldom found of an earlier date than the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth, churches seem to have been generally and systematically pewed with low, open seats. The panels and mouldings were often richly carved; and the ends were developed into bold and elaborate finials, which were occa-

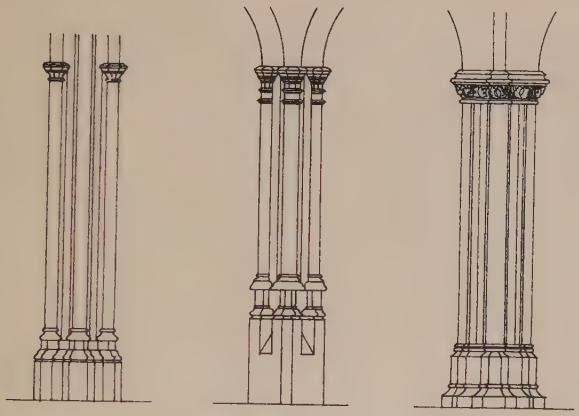


PERPENDICULAR DOORWAYS.

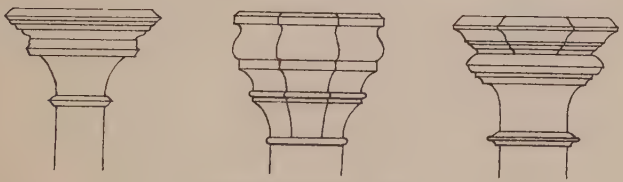


PERPENDICULAR WINDOWS.

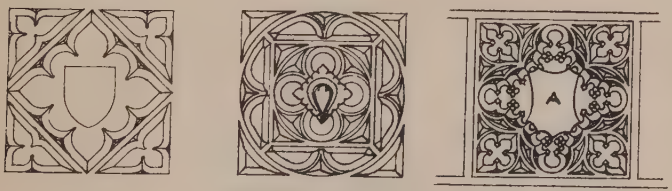
A.R. BROWN.



PERPENDICULAR PIERS.



PERPENDICULAR CAPS.



PERPENDICULAR PANELS.

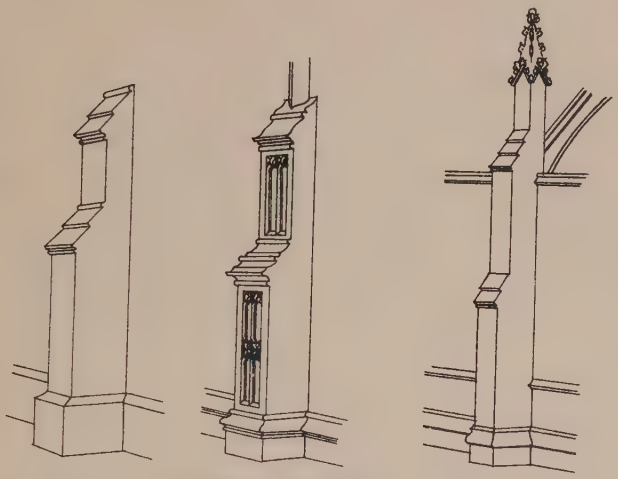
TUDOR FLOWER

SHIELD. A.

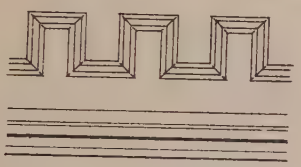
A.E. BROWN.

sionally armorial in design. In the Western counties the carving of the bench-ends was on the solid, while in East Anglia and the Midlands the construction was of a higher class, in which the rails, panels, &c. were inserted, the buttresses alone being on the solid. Pulpits are not common of an earlier date than the fifteenth century, when their form and position appear to have become more settled. Before this, they may have been movable and temporary structures. Ancient pulpits, whether of stone, or wooden, are moulded and carved elaborately in the style of their period. They stood usually in the eastern part of the nave. Outside pulpits were in use, as at Paul's Cross. There is a beautiful specimen at Magdalen College in Oxford. From the thirteenth century onwards, the chancel was usually divided from the nave by a stone or wooden screen, which replaced the elaborate chancel arch of the Normans, and the veil which used to divide the clergy from the Christian people. There are innumerable specimens of fifteenth and sixteenth century screens in wood. The *rood loft* was a platform or passage, above the screen, extending across the chancel, and connected with a staircase, made either in a turret or in the thickness of the wall. When there was no loft above the screen, the apex or crest supported the rood or crucifix, and the attendant figures of Mary and John. Sometimes the rood hung from a beam which was placed across the chancel arch. Roods are not earlier than the eleventh century. The roods themselves became very large and realistic towards the close of the Middle Ages; and the implements of the crucifixion were added to them. Candles were lit before them on certain days, and it would seem that there was an altar and a *piscina* occasionally in the rood loft. The choir or chancel, within the screen, was furnished on either side with wooden stalls, often canopied, and divided by arms or carving into single seats. These were occupied by the canons of cathedral or collegiate churches, and by the monks or friars of conventual foundations. The benches or *formulae* of these seats are movable on hinges, and the undersides or *subsellia* are carved with grotesque or satirical designs and figures. These movable seats are called *misericords*. When turned down, they formed

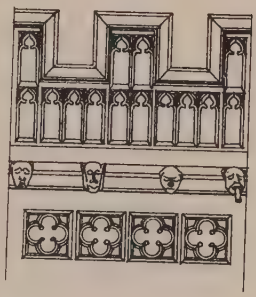
an ordinary and proper seat during the time for sitting in the various offices and liturgies: the edges of them, when they were turned up, were used as a kind of irregular seat or ledge, on which the monks or canons rested at those times when they should have stood. The arms or divisions between the stalls were also used as props for the elbows. In front of the stalls were desks of carved and panelled woodwork. The deans of cathedrals, the heads of chapters, and the superiors of religious houses usually sat on the inner side of the rood screen, facing the altar. The capitular or conventual body sat facing one another on the north and south of the choir. Lecterns and reading desks, of wood or metal, often stood in the middle of the choir, for the reading of lessons and the singing of antiphons. Reading desks in the modern sense placed for congregational use are very rare before the sixteenth century. After seeing the misericords, a visitor would come to the *high altar*, the principal altar in a church. It was raised usually on three steps. The most ancient altars were of wood. In later times stone was used. The *altar stone*, or flat slab on the top, was consecrated with oil, and incised with five crosses, symbolical of Christ's five wounds. Consecration crosses are also found on the inside and outside walls of churches. Relics were enclosed in the altar stone, from the primitive custom of celebrating mass at the tombs of martyrs, and in theory every altar was a shrine or tomb. The furniture of altars was very simple at first, consisting only of the cup or *chalice*, the plate or *paten*, the altar linen, and the service book. There were neither crosses nor candles. These came into use in the thirteenth century, after transubstantiation had been defined, and ritual was elaborated to express the new belief. Before the Reformation, only two altar candles appear to have been used in England. In the fifteenth century, the figure was added to the simple cross as a liturgical decoration of the altar. Besides the furniture mentioned, there was a covered chalice, or *ciborium*, or *pyx*, for the distribution, and in later ages for the reservation, of the sacramental bread; a pair of *cruets* for the wine and water; a small *sacring* hand-bell; a *pax table*, of silver usually, for the kiss of peace; a *stoup* or other vessel, with a *sprinkler*, for holy



PERPENDICULAR BUTTRESSES.



PERPENDICULAR
PARAPETS.

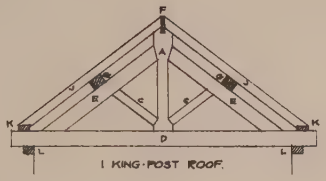


PERPENDICULAR ARCADE.

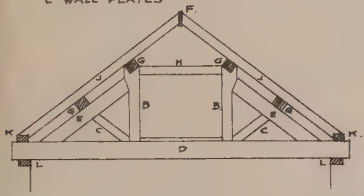
AR. BROWN.

1 & 2.

A. KING-POST.
B. QUEEN-POST
C. BRACES.
D TIE-BEAMS.
E PRINCIPAL RAFTERS.
F RIDGE PIECES.
G PURLINS.
H. COLLAR.
J. COMMON-RAFTERS.
K POLE-PLATES
L WALL-PLATES



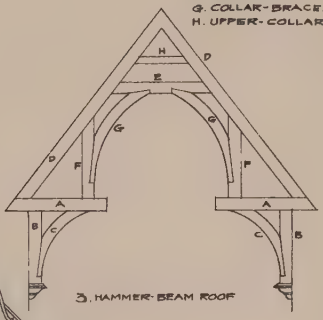
1. KING-POST ROOF.



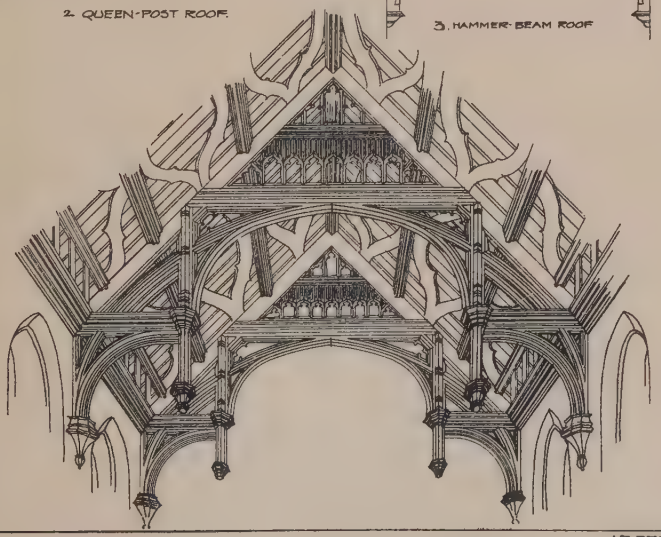
2. QUEEN-POST ROOF.

3.

A. HAMMER-BEAM.
B. PENDANT-POST.
C. HAMMER-BRACE.
D. RAFTER.
E. COLLAR.
F SIDE-POST.
G. COLLAR-BRACE.
H. UPPER-COLLAR.



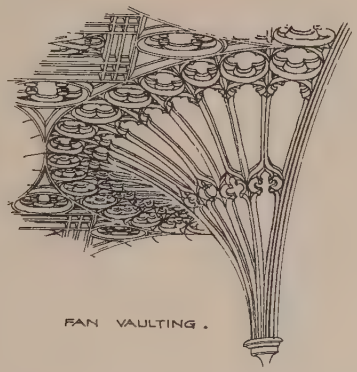
3. HAMMER-BEAM ROOF



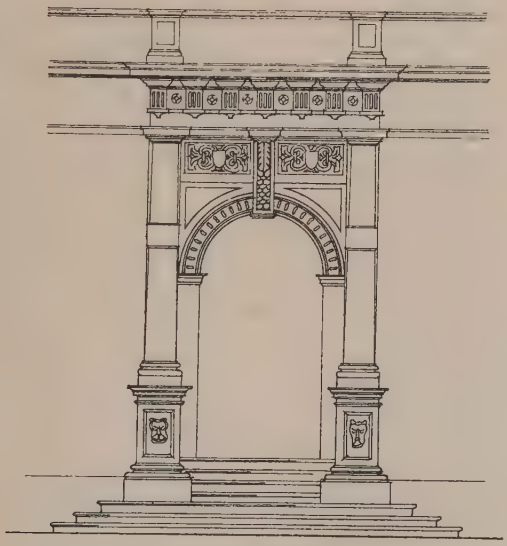
A.R. BROWN.

water; a *censer* or *thurible* for burning incense, and a *boat* for holding it, with a *spoon* for measuring it out. The cylindrical *monstrance*, or glazed pyx, for exhibiting the sacrament on altars and in processions was probably not used earlier than the fourteenth century. The service of benediction, for which the present flat monstrance is used, was not established in the Roman Church until after the Reformation. All furniture and vessels, in whatever material, corresponded with the style of architecture and ornamentation that was in fashion when they were made. In the south wall of the chancel, near the altar, are found the stone seats or *sedilia*, already mentioned, one, three, or five in number, generally three, and generally with seats of graduated levels for clergy of different ranks. East of the *sedilia* was a *fenestrella* or niche, containing the *piscina* or *lavacrum*, a bason with a drain leading into the earth, down which the ablutions of the priests' fingers and the rinsings of the chalice were poured. Within the niche of the piscina, and over the bason, was often a shelf to hold the cruets, which were also placed sometimes on a separate shelf, or credence table. *Ambries* or lockers, which have had folding or single doors, are found in some chancel walls. They were used for holding the relics and eucharistic vessels, and also for the *chrismatories* or vials in which the three sorts of holy oil were kept; the oil of catechumens, the oil for the sick, and the holy chrism. Besides the high altar, there were often smaller altars in side chapels, and in other parts of the big churches. The side chapels were commonly shut off from the open church by screens of wood or stone. These chapels were often *chantries*, that is foundations, quite independent of the parochial revenues, endowed by particular persons or families, in order that masses should be said or sung for their souls. Chantry priests lived on the endowment, and performed the duties ordered by the bequest. The beautiful tomb of Arthur, Prince of Wales, at Worcester, is an example of a chantry chapel erected and endowed within a church. Large revenues were left to the collegiate and conventual foundations for these purposes; and their churches were enriched financially, as well as architecturally, by the chantries and tombs of benefactors. The earliest tombs are

stone coffins, with flat covers level with the floors. Then the top is coped, and raised slightly above the floor, as in the tomb of Rufus at Winchester. After this, the base of the tomb rests on the floor; and then it was not long before simple figures of the dead were sculptured on the top, as in the case of John's effigy [Pl. XLIV, 7] at Worcester, which is now set upon a Perpendicular tomb of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and in the ruder carving of Peter des Roches at Winchester. In the monument of William Longsword [Pl. LX, 4], at Salisbury, we have a tomb and an effigy which are coeval. From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, we have elaborate effigies of men and women, giving the costumes of their time; and, in the canopies or arches over them, as well as in the detail and construction of their monuments, telling us the century in which they lived. Another form of monument is the *brass* [Plates LXI, 2; LXXXV], either on raised stone tombs, or more commonly on the floor, giving the figure and costume of the deceased; and yet another form is the less durable incised slab [Pl. LXI, 1]. Further details about sepulchral monuments belong more properly to the articles on armour, costume, and heraldry. The humbler and uncoffined dead were put into the churchyards; and their bones, as they accumulated, were often gathered in vast quantities into the crypts or charnel-houses below the church. The churches themselves were bright with colour. The walls were frescoed with patterns and sacred subjects. Vaulting and wood-carving were usually painted and gilt, oak not being in medieval times valued for its own sake as at the present day. The windows were still more brilliant and rich. Glass appears to have been used as early as the seventh century. Benedict Biscop, at Wearmouth, imported glass-makers after 678, and Wilfrith glazed the windows at York Minster before 686. No earlier instances are recorded. Another Wilfrith, at Worcester, who held that see from 717 to 744, substituted glass for the wooden shutters and lattices of wicker-work, and its transparency—for the moon and the stars could be seen through it—caused much wonder, and supernatural agency was suspected. The glass at Wearmouth and York was doubtless *cast-glass*, or *table-glass*, which was made by merely pouring the material upon a marble table,



FAN VAULTING.



ELIZABETHAN DOORWAY.

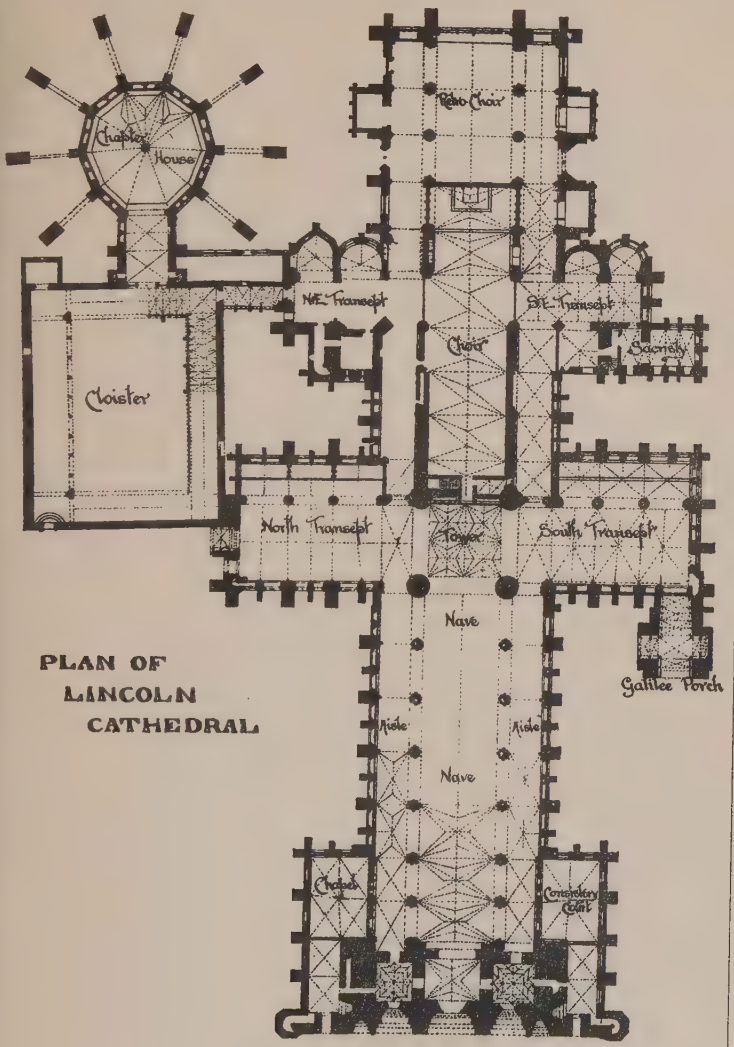
A.R.BROWN.

1. TOWER AND SPIRE OF BLOXHAM CHURCH, OXON.

2. TOWER OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

and was smooth on one side and rough on the other. Thus it was translucent, but not transparent like that at Worcester, the latter marking the advance that had been made in the manufacture during the intervening half century. From the end of the twelfth, we have coloured glass in patterns and rude figures; and then we find the splendid glass of the Decorated and Perpendicular windows, in which the designs are fitted so exquisitely to the traceries, and all the detail agrees with its own style of architecture. Some of the patterned windows of the fourteenth century are of a rare delicacy; and the clear white and gold of the fifteenth has a magical and charming effect. The scheme of design and colour was completed by the tiling of the floors. Vestments do not belong properly to our subject, nor do the various hangings and embroideries of altars; but the general sumptuousness of churches was increased by every kind of tapestry and needle-work, which were made still more costly and impressive by a lavish use of gold, of silver, and of precious stones. Shrines and statues, reliquaries of strange and barbaric shapes, which imitated the human limbs and members contained in them, rings, mitres, croziers, pectoral and processional crosses, maces and staves, bells and candlesticks and censers, the covers of books, bowls and ewers, chalices and flagons, and other gorgeous implements of ritual, made of gold and silver, or carved in ivory and crystal, sometimes enamelled or damascened, and often glittering with gems, added to the ceremonial splendour of the great abbeys and cathedrals. Images were common throughout the Middle Ages, and they became more numerous towards the end. Every church was supposed to have a crucifix or rood, a figure of St. Mary the Virgin, and of its name or patron saint. The patron stood sometimes over the porch; and passages, with stairs leading to them, found in some porches, are supposed to have been used for access to these images, that they might be vested or decorated for their festivals. Other saints were added in continually increasing numbers, for decoration or for devotion. The existence of money boxes for offerings and of stands or receptacles for lights has been inferred from brackets and other traces which have been found near the supposed

position of some of the more renowned images and shrines. In some churches may still be seen the *hagioscope*, or *squint*, an opening, usually cut obliquely through the wall, in order that the high altar, or a shrine, or some favourite image, might be seen from outside, or watched from a room connected with the church. In other places, the *low side-window* remains. This was an aperture, usually under a window, which was closed with a shutter and generally grated, but never glazed. Many uses have been suggested for these low side-windows, but none of the arguments are satisfactory. Nobody knows what they were used for. We do not find confessionals, as in modern churches; but we read of *shryving stools*, which probably were movable; and priests were ordered to hear confessions in the open church, not 'behind the veil,' nor out of sight. The *Easter Sepulchres*, which were often made under an arch in the north wall of the chancel, were all destroyed, with the roods and other images, at the Reformation. The intention of the first reformers was to abolish manifest occasions of idolatry, and not to destroy works of art, as such; but plunderers and puritanical bigots, through greed or ignorance, made no distinction. The principal change that need be recorded here is that the medieval stone altars were replaced, almost universally, by the more primitive wooden table. The Elizabethan and Jacobean tables are often rich specimens of their time and style. They stood usually in the chancel and were carried into the body of the church and placed lengthways in it when the congregation used them. Under Charles I they were railed in at the east end; and so they came by degrees to be fixed in the position of the stone altars, by which in later times they have been once more dispossessed. In place of the images and carvings in the chancel, we find the commandments, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer either graven or painted. The English Bible, the commentary of Erasmus, the Homilies, and Foxe's Book of Martyrs were among the appointed furniture of every church: nor should we omit the hourglasses, in their brackets of hammered iron, which were set up for the shaming of dull preachers and the protection of their audience. The royal arms, with the initials of every sovereign from Elizabeth



PLAN OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

onwards, and with the coats of each dynasty, are among the most interesting and satisfactory memorials in our national churches.

9. Monastic Buildings.

The fittings and arrangements of monastic churches were similar to those in cathedral and collegiate churches. The public worship of the communities consisted of the seven canonical hours or the Divine office, and of the high mass, all of them chaunted or sung in choir. In places which had important relics or popular images, as at St. Alban's and Walsingham, the shrine with its pilgrimages and particular devotions was the chief object in the life and worship of the church. In some places, a religious community and a parish seem to have shared a church: in such cases, the choir would belong to the community, and the nave to the parishioners. We have no complete remains of any monastery; but a general notion of the arrangements can be obtained from disconnected accounts, and from various ruins. There was no fixed arrangements, the plans in every case depending on the site, and especially on the disposition of the water supply; but the similarity of life and rule, and the similar needs of the monastic bodies, produced a certain uniformity of plan, subject to special and local variations. A plan is given here of Kirkstall Abbey, near Leeds [Pl. xxii, xxii a], a Cistercian house. A monastery stood in its close or precincts, surrounded by a wall, in which was the chief gateway and various postern doors. The great gateway was often west of the church. The buildings were grouped round the cloister court. On the north of this usually was the church. Opposite to the church, most commonly, was the refectory, with the kitchen, cellars, and *locutorium*, or parlour, or monks' day-room, somewhere near it. South-east of the church, and often communicating with it by a passage or *slypp*, was the chapter-house, in which the discipline and public business of the community were transacted. Near this were usually the vestries, the treasury, and the mortuary chamber, leading to the cemetery. South-west of the church, on the

west of the cloister, and opposite the chapter-house, was the lay brothers' day-room. On the first floor, above the two day-rooms, were the dormitories of the monks and the lay brethren respectively, that of the former communicating through closed passages with the church. In the cloister *carols*, or *carrels*, small enclosed studies of wainscot, for the monks to read or write in, were constructed between the archways. There was also a library, and an infirmary; and all the larger monasteries must have contained barns, byres, brewhouses, bakehouses, laundries, as well as workshops and stores of every kind. There was very often a mill, if the monastery were built on a stream; and the drainage was carefully provided for. The abbot and prior had lodges or lodgings of their own. There was always a guest house or *Hospitium*, which was sometimes over, and generally near, the great gateway. This was kept, as a college gate is now, by porters, and there was access through it for horses and carriages. This arrangement prevailed, more or less, in all the houses of the Benedictine order, and in most of its branches or offshoots, as well as in the friaries. In orders like the Carthusian, in which the monks lived, slept, ate, and worked, each in his own cell or set of rooms, with his own garden, and the only community duties were those of the choir and chapter-house, the plans and arrangements were necessarily modified. The plan of a monastery was followed by the founders of colleges. The old college buildings of Merton, the original buildings of New, of Magdalen, and of Corpus Christi, all in Oxford, still show the arrangements of a college in the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. There were about 600 religious houses in England at the Dissolution. Most of them were founded before the time of Richard II. Only eight were founded in the fifteenth century, as against 157 in the reign of Henry III. Sixty foundations for charity and learning were endowed in the fifteenth century. As monasteries declined, colleges, schools, hospitals, and alms-houses became numerous. The hospital of St. Cross at Winchester is in arrangement not unlike a college; every inmate having his own set of rooms, and formerly using the refectory, as well as the chapel, in common. The whole

KIRKSTALL ABBEY IN 1190: GROUND PLAN.

(By J. Wreghitt Connon, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.)

CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY, AS IN 1190.

(*By J. Wrightt Cowen, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.*)

community was ruled by a master, and guarded in theory by a porter's lodge from the anxiety and sorrows of the outer world.

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(For other works see under Sections II, IV, XII.)

II

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

1. Simple and Defensive Character of Early Domestic Architecture.

There are few people who are not willing to recognize the fact that an Englishman's house is his castle: and there are equally few who recognize that in early times, conversely, an Englishman's castle was his house. Such was, however, the case, and it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between military and domestic architecture. In early times, and indeed through all the centuries down to the days of the Tudors, one of the first requisites of a dwelling was adequate means of defence against attack. The necessity for precaution varied according to circumstances: according to the district, and to the importance of the owner of the house. Near the Scottish border, where forays were of frequent occurrence, all houses of any importance were strongly fortified, and very curious structures they were. What are known as *pele towers* [Pl. xxiii] consisted of little besides a single tower standing within a small irregular enclosure. Very many houses in the North of England retain the ancient pele buried among later additions: it being the nucleus round which the more modern buildings have gathered. The tower contained some five stages; the basement was occupied by the cattle in times of trouble; the floor above was a store, and here was the entrance door, reached by a ladder. From this floor started the circular stone staircase which led to the upper floors, the first of which contained the hall or common-room. In many cases each stage contained only the one room, but in later examples small separate sleeping chambers were contrived in the enormously thick walls. The roof was generally flat, and served as a look-

YANWITH PELE, WESTMORELAND (FOURTEENTH CENTURY).

out. This primitive type of dwelling lingered on till quite late in some parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, and dwellings with no more elaborate accommodation than this were still built at a time when such vast and splendid mansions as Burghley House and Holdenby were being reared.

These quaint pele towers are mentioned because they show in a striking manner the kind of accommodation which satisfied the better class of people during the period when men's efforts were directed almost as much to the preservation as to the enjoyment of life. But the particular form of the towers is a local survival. They provide the necessary rooms one over the other, in order to minimize the extent of wall liable to close attack. Where danger was more remote the requisite rooms were placed alongside of one another. An interesting example of the vertical arrangement is still to be seen, far away from the Scottish border, at Castleton in Derbyshire, where the small twelfth-century keep of the castle still remains perched high up above the precipitous gorge into which the well-known Peak cavern opens. From this side it is inaccessible; on another the ground falls abruptly away to a valley, while across the steep tongue of land which intervenes between the gorge and the valley is drawn the enclosing wall of the castle. It was in this keep that the domestic part of the establishment was lodged, on three or four floors of one room each.

Three or four rooms were all that were required in the century succeeding the Conquest, and these rooms always bore the same relation to each other. This relation was maintained for five centuries, and the vast palace of Audley End, built in the reign of James I, was but an elaboration of the few apartments which satisfied the domestic wants of our Norman kings. The root-idea underlying both is the same. The most important of the rooms was the hall, and its importance can hardly be exaggerated. It was the common living-room of the house, and such it continued to be for century after century, until, with the progress of ideas, and the subdivision of space into more and more chambers for special uses, its old character changed. It became an entrance hall: a great vestibule instead of a great living-room. It ceased to be the centre of the

domestic system, and house-planning was regarded from a different point of view. The supreme importance of the hall is indicated by the fact that it became synonymous with the house itself; the chief residence of a village was called the Hall, a name which has survived down to the present day.

Attached to the hall were two other rooms, the kitchen and—to use the expressive term of later years—the parlour. The former was always known as the kitchen, but the latter was first termed the *solar* or *sollere*, and was the private chamber of the lord: in later times the principal room devoted to the use of the family, as distinguished from the servants, was called the *parlour*, and is so named on most house plans of Queen Elizabeth's time. The idea that underlay the arrangements of all houses was therefore extremely simple: the hall in the middle; at one end the kitchen, or servants' quarters; at the other end the solar, or family quarters. In early times there was a very scanty subdivision of rooms, and the servants' end was more elaborated than the master's, although more for his benefit than for theirs. So early as the reign of King Henry III we hear of a larder, a sewery, and a cellar, forming part of the kitchen department; but these rooms were introduced for the lord's convenience, not for his servants'; and it may be taken for granted that quite down to recent times, if inconvenience had to be suffered, it fell upon the servants rather than upon the master. Still the greatest personages in the land were content with arrangements which would be intolerable in the present day. There must have been cases of overcrowding which would have scandalized modern ideas. Indeed, we know from the minstrel's lays which have survived that it was customary for the whole household, except the lord and lady, not only to eat in the hall, but to use it as a sleeping apartment, and that the custom did not tend to the well-being of the people. If room could not be found in the hall, guests were quite content to sleep in the stables, or indeed anywhere under cover; and it was no particular mark of inferiority, nor in any way an unusual proceeding, for Ivanhoe, when he visited his father's house in disguise, to take his night's rest in the stable. Nor need we sympathize overmuch with Don Quixote when he was

relegated to the loft of the inn for his repose. *Autres temps, autres mœurs.* Although the lord had his solar, or private room, it was certainly no more than he wanted, for it served for all purposes not public. It was at once bedroom and audience-chamber. Edward I and his queen were sitting on their bed, attended by the ladies of the court, when they were nearly killed by lightning in the year 1287. Nevertheless, limited as the accommodation was, it was considered enough for the purpose during the three centuries that followed the Conquest.

Yanwith Pele [Pl. XXIII] is actually the tower of a fourteenth-century house containing accommodation arranged round a court-yard; but it gives a fair idea of what a pele tower is like. It consists of three storeys, the ordinary number being five. The square-headed windows are insertions of the sixteenth century. Yanwith is a good example of the way in which an early house was planned: exhibiting the customary relation of the hall, kitchen, and solar, which in this instance was placed in the tower.

Although the rooms already mentioned constituted the main part of the house, namely, the hall, the solar, and the kitchen, they were not always on the same level. The solar appears always to have been an upper chamber, and was approached, unless the hall also was on an upper floor, by steps of wood or stone which led sometimes direct from the hall, and sometimes from the court outside. The space beneath the solar, and also beneath the hall when the two were on the same level, was used as cellars or stores, and was usually approached from outside. These arrangements were extremely simple, extremely rough, and one would suppose extremely uncomfortable; and it is in the expansion of these rooms, in adding more and more for the family, and more and more for the servants and the service of the family, that the growth of English domestic architecture consists; but down to the end of the reign of James I the hall divided the family apartments from those of the servants, and was the common ground upon which the household met, particularly at meal times.

The solar usually had a fireplace with a flue; but the hall was generally warmed by a fire on a central hearth, the smoke

finding its way out through a lantern on the roof. This custom was not finally superseded until Elizabeth's reign, since a palace which was built at Richmond for Henry VII about the year 1500 had the same arrangement. In the return of the Commissioners of Parliament made in 1649, they expressly mention, when describing the great hall, that it had 'in the midst a brick hearth for a charcoal fire, having a large lanthorn in the roof of the hall fitted for that purpose, turreted and covered with lead.' At Penshurst, in Kent, the lantern still remains in the roof of the great hall. When there was no opportunity for the smoke to escape through the roof, as was the case with the keep of a castle, where the hall had two or three floors over it, a fireplace was provided; and the chimneys which enclosed the flues of such fireplaces, or those of the solars, are to be seen on a number of early houses. Among them may be instanced a house at Christchurch, Hampshire; the Jews' house at Lincoln, where the base remains; and the manor-house at Boothby Pagnell, in Lincolnshire, all of the twelfth century.

Although the component parts of houses were much the same in all cases, yet these parts were differently arranged to meet local or personal needs, so that no two houses are exactly alike. Not very many early examples have survived, and of those that do remain a great number have been incorporated with modern buildings, or have been altered from their original arrangements. It is only through the light thrown by contemporary records, and by such remains as are to be found up and down the country, that the original apartments can be pieced together; and there is no building to which the curious inquirer can go, and there see clearly before his eyes the actual rooms and doors and windows in the relation to each other which they had when built five or six centuries ago. Perhaps the most perfect example left of a great hall of the twelfth century is that at Oakham Castle [Pl. XXIV]. It is 65 feet long by 43 feet wide, and might easily be mistaken by a casual visitor for a church, for the roof is carried on two rows of pillars and arches, which thus divide the building into what look like a nave and two aisles. Nor is this the only resemblance: for the pillars have bases upon which they stand, and capitals which support the

1. OAKHAM CASTLE HALL: EXTERIOR.
(ABOUT 1180.)

2. OAKHAM CASTLE HALL: INTERIOR.

arches, just in the manner of churches. The windows in the side walls are small, according to the custom of the time, and there is a little east window; but it is too high up for a church, and there is nothing to suggest a chancel. There is no fireplace, therefore the inference is that there was a fire on the floor, and a lantern on the roof. The resemblance of this domestic hall to a church is a fact of great significance, for it tends to show, and in a striking way, that there was no essential difference between ecclesiastical and domestic architecture—a fact which is not so generally grasped as it ought to be. Architecture was at that time a science of construction, and problems of similar nature were solved in similar ways, whether they occurred in a church or in a house. Architectural treatment was not then a means of displaying the learning, or the ignorance, of the designer: it was the ordinary method of expression adopted as a matter of course. In the hall at Oakham a large space had to be covered, and recourse was had to the usual expedient of dividing the width into three parts by means of pillars carrying a wall, so that the roof might be formed of three short spans instead of one long one. The wall was carried on the pillars by means of arches, not because they looked well or lent mystery to the view by impeding it, but because that was the best method of construction known to the builders. Had they been able to cover the space with one large roof without using intermediate support, no doubt they would have done so. The difference in architectural treatment between ecclesiastical and domestic buildings will be found not so much in the detail as in the general disposition consequent upon the different purposes to be fulfilled. A door, an arch, or a window might be taken from either and placed in the other without the slightest incongruity in appearance, unless it might arise from the window having a transom, or horizontal cross-bar, which very seldom occurs in church windows before the Perpendicular period. But a house with two storeys, and a fireplace in the upper one, would be a composite structure that could never be mistaken for a church. At the same time, while the detail of particular features would be alike in both buildings, it is also true that more richness and elaboration were bestowed

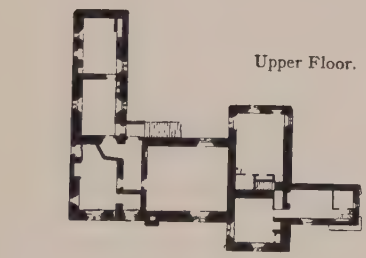
upon the church than upon the house. As houses developed in complexity the distinction naturally increased, and by the time of the great house-building era of Elizabeth's days, a domestic style had established itself which was widely different from that associated with churches: but even then masons were not so much alive to the difference which ought to exist between church-work and house-work as the modern amateur could wish, and churches which were 'restored' in the early part of the seventeenth century often have a curiously domestic look.

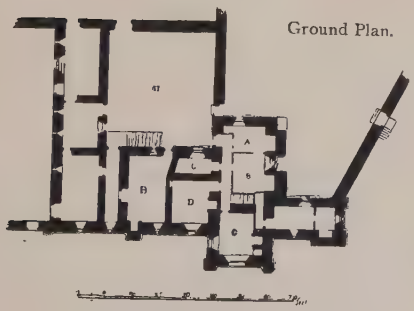
From the thirteenth century onwards there were many fine houses built of wood and plaster in certain districts, particularly in the Western counties, from Cheshire to Herefordshire, and some of the most picturesque remains which we possess are to be seen in that part of England. But naturally it is not among these that we must seek for examples of the fortified mansion, but rather in localities where stone was to be found. Of the latter class Aydon Castle, in Northumberland, is a good specimen [Pl. xxv], as is Little Wenham, in Suffolk, which is remarkable for affording an early instance of the use of brick. Of the two plans of Aydon Castle [Pl. xxv, 2] the upper floor indicates the extent of the house; the additional walls that appear on the ground-plan are those which enclosed the court-yards. In this example the kitchens and servants' offices are on the ground-floor; the hall and family rooms are on the upper floor. The hall, which is the large central apartment, was approached by an outside staircase that led in the usual manner into the *screens* (see below) at the end of the hall. At Stokesay Castle, in Shropshire, the main fortifications are of stone, while the existing gatehouse, built in Elizabethan times, when defence was no longer of importance, is of timber-work.

2. Fourteenth Century.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries no great advance seems to have been made in the arrangement of dwellings, but in the fourteenth much was done to improve them. In con-

1. AYDON CASTLE.





2. AYDON CASTLE : PLANS.
(LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.)

sequence of the growing desire for privacy, the number of rooms was increased, and they were made more comfortable by the multiplication of fireplaces, and more cheerful by the enlargement of the windows. The hall gradually assumed that particular disposition which characterized it down to the end of the sixteenth century. It has already been pointed out how the hall stood between the kitchen and the solar. The entrance was in one of the side walls, near the kitchen end; this entrance was now partitioned off from the body of the hall by a screen, usually made of wood, and carried across the width of the hall, thus cutting off a passage, called *the screens*. There were two doors through the screen into the body of the hall; and in the end wall of the hall adjacent to the screen there were usually three doors, that led, one into the buttery, a second down a short passage to the kitchen, and a third into a pantry or other office. These doors may still be seen in many ancient houses, although often built up. Sometimes there were only two, one for the buttery and one for the kitchen. The screen itself was nine or ten feet high, and supported a gallery over the passage for the use of the minstrels, who reached it either by a small staircase, or from a room on the upper floor. In addition to the screen, further protection was afforded to the hall by a porch outside the front door. At the end of the hall, opposite to the screen, was the daïs, a platform raised some five or six inches above the general level of the floor, and thus affording a suitable position for the high table, at which the lord and his guests took their meals. Through the end wall at the back of the daïs was pierced the opening that led to the solar, and to the other family rooms. Fireplaces were still rare in halls, and it is on record that the lord and his guests sometimes withdrew to a room furnished with one in order to dine. It will be seen, therefore, that the old primitive arrangements are being refined. The fierce blasts of wind that used to enter at every opening of the door are now partly checked by the screen; the presence of which also enables retainers to take their ale at the buttery, and to reach the kitchen without actually passing through the hall. But the latter is still a somewhat dismal apartment: scantily lighted,

and that by windows high up in the wall, and chilly from want of a fireplace, or, if not chilly, smoky from want of a flue. In subsequent years these defects were remedied: a fireplace was introduced into one of the side walls, and a bay window was placed at the end of the daïs, with the sill brought down sufficiently low to enable the occupants to look out. But hitherto there had been no great desire for a prospect, inasmuch as the hall was enclosed within a wall of defence. At Sutton Courtenay, in Berkshire, there is at the upper end of the hall a small low side-window beneath the ordinary window. This may be the first indication of a desire to obtain an outlook from the daïs.

Those who are familiar with the halls of colleges will no doubt have felt the description of the hall of a fourteenth-century house to be no new thing. Indeed, there is no better way of realizing the appearance and arrangement of an ancient hall than by inspecting those of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. There can be seen the hall, the screens, and in some cases the buttery too, occupying the same relation to each other, and answering the same purposes, as they did in large houses of five centuries ago.

In addition to the rooms required for actual domestic use, some of the larger houses had a chapel incorporated with them; but this was a comparatively infrequent feature, not being an essential item, as was the hall, the solar, and the kitchen. Naturally, the number of rooms varied with the size of the household and the wealth of the owner; and these early homes range from the inconsiderable houses of Woodcroft and Northborough in Northamptonshire to the castles of Raby in Durham and Broughton in Oxfordshire: but all were as yet small compared with the vast edifices of Elizabeth's time. All, however, were more or less fortified, according to the district and the importance of the owner. In the extreme north of England houses followed the old fortalice type to a much later date than elsewhere. In more peaceful regions the smaller personages could trust themselves to less defensible houses than could their great neighbours. Thus throughout the country we get a certain mixture of types, and it is impossible to say that by a certain

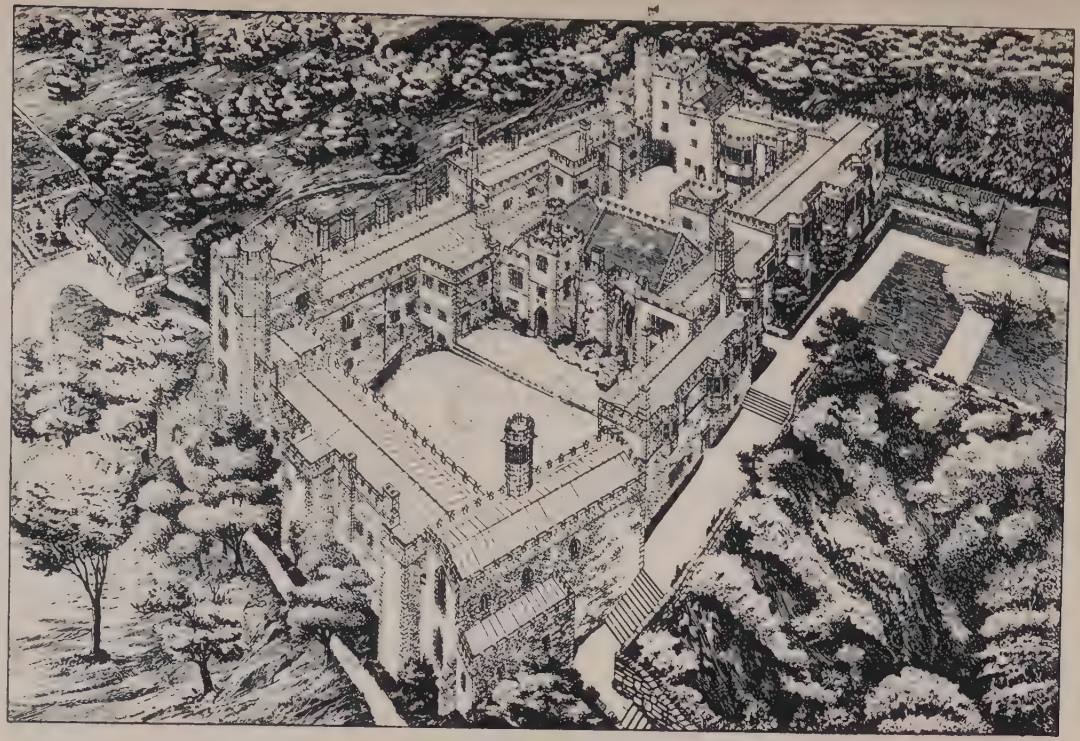
year such features were universally dropped, or such others universally adopted: but always and everywhere the houses had the same root-idea of hall, solar, and kitchen. The external treatment, too, varied according to the locality. The earlier houses which have survived are of stone, but it should be remembered that wood played a large part in the construction of all buildings: that many of the rooms of important houses, and even of castles, were built of wood. These have all perished, and in what remains in stone we see only a portion of the original structure.

One of the commonest means of adding to the security of a house in flat districts was to surround it with a moat, and most houses of any consequence were so surrounded. In many cases the moats have almost if not entirely disappeared, their presence being indicated only by a depression in the ground; but in a few instances they still remain, and continue to wash the walls of the dwellings they protected. In hilly districts they were not necessary, as a precipitous situation served the builder's turn in this respect. Another means of defence adopted was to build the house round a courtyard, for by the end of the fourteenth century the number of rooms had increased to such an extent as to enable this to be done. The old range of buildings with which we are now familiar—the hall, the solar (or, as it may now be called, 'the parlour'), and the kitchen—was supplemented by other rooms, arranged in two wings returning at right angles to it, and thus forming three sides of a court. The fourth was closed by a wall, or occupied by a further range of buildings, having in the middle the gatehouse. Round the whole went the moat. The outer walls were still so constructed as to diminish, as far as possible, facilities for hostile entry. The windows were few, and no larger than was absolutely requisite. Projecting towers or turrets were placed at the corners, and sometimes also halfway along each side, furnished with loopholes for the bowmen or embrasures for cannon. Where the hall came, the windows of which were probably larger, the moat was wider, to give additional security. The only means of ingress was through the gateway, access to which was gained by a drawbridge over the moat. This entrance and

its approaches were commanded by flanking towers, and its narrow passage was closed at each end by ponderous gates, and often by a portcullis in addition. Though not castles in the sense of being military strongholds, many of the precautions of a castle were adopted in these fortified manor-houses, and life within them must have been dull, and hedged about with endless restrictions. No wonder that when the time came to cast restraint aside, the whole country blossomed out into buildings that vied with each other in the cheerfulness of their aspect and the freedom of their surroundings.

In hilly country the conditions of the site did not always permit of so regular a disposition as was possible on level land. At Haddon Hall [Plates xxvi; xxvii], for instance, the entrance tower is at one corner of the building, instead of being midway in the front; and there is no attempt to observe straightness of line or regularity of disposition. Haddon is perhaps the best example left to us of an ancient house: as it was when the family gave it up as a place of residence a hundred and fifty years ago, so it remains to-day. The very depressions in the kitchen-table made by the mincing-knife are there still. Nor has the building been altered to keep pace with the times since the days when the tide of fashion set strongly in the direction of modern ideas. There is not a sash-window in the whole place. Yet up to the end of the sixteenth century it had been altered to suit the changing requirements of its inmates; generation after generation had pulled down or added to the work of its fathers, so as to make itself more comfortable, until the most extensive operations of all were undertaken by Dorothy Vernon and her husband in the closing years of the sixteenth century; and hardly anything has been done since.

Haddon consists of two courts, and possessed them before the end of the fourteenth century. The outer walls are sparsely furnished with windows, and the hall, which required more light than other rooms, was placed in the block that separates the two courts, thus enabling it to derive its light from one or both of them. The kitchen, which comes up to an outside wall, suffers accordingly: its windows are so small that even at mid-day it is only dimly lighted; the neighbouring offices are even



HADDON HALL.

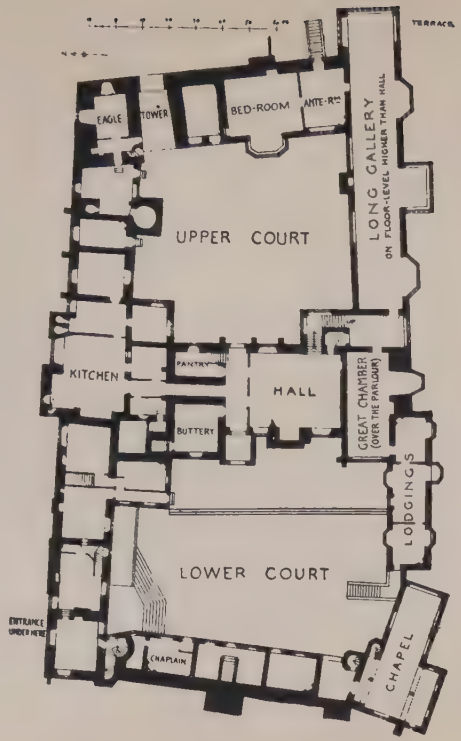
darker. The family side of the house is far more cheerful. It looks towards the south, and was greatly improved in Elizabeth's reign, when large windows were the fashion. But the arrangements which satisfied the wants of the Vernons and the Manners down to the seventeenth century were found to be incompatible with the comfort that became indispensable in the eighteenth; the place ceased to be a tolerable dwelling, which indeed Horace Walpole averred it never could have been, and so the family left it. Haddon is worth a visit from all who are interested in domestic architecture, not only on account of its romantic situation and picturesque appearance, but because it conveys so vivid an idea of the arrangement of a medieval dwelling. Other houses of the fourteenth century which show the gradual growth of the buildings are Raby Castle, in the county of Durham; Yanwith Hall, Westmoreland [Pl. XXIII]; Markenfield Hall, Yorkshire; Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire; Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire; Penshurst and Ightham Mote, Kent; and Meare in Somerset.

It must be borne in mind that the architectural treatment of houses changed with the changes that are to be found in ecclesiastical buildings. The small doors and windows of the Norman period strove to enlarge themselves in company with their near relatives in the churches, but always they were confronted with the necessity for defence. Occasionally they defied this constraint, especially when they were not immediately on an external wall, or were in homes situated in comparatively peaceful districts. The windows began to be glazed in the better houses, though by no means universally. In many cases the portion above the transom was glazed, while the lower half was protected only by wooden shutters. The roofs, which in quite early time were often made of shingles, were found too inflammable, and were gradually covered with tiles, stone slates, or lead. Internally the woodwork was exposed to view in the manner of church roofs. The great halls, often of wide span, had roofs of much elaboration, that required considerable skill and ingenuity in the framing together. The roof over Westminster Hall is one of the finest specimens left of this class, but it dates from a period somewhat later than the time

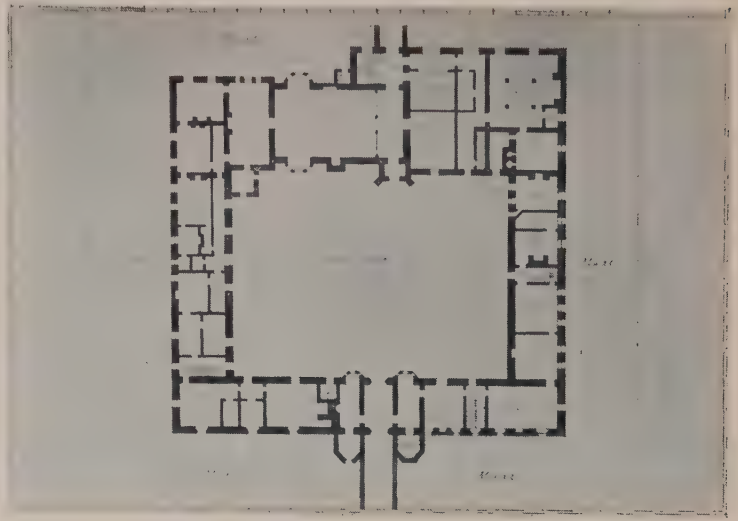
at which we have yet arrived. It should be remembered that the great halls with their lofty roofs could have no floor over them: when on the ground level, they presented an impassable barrier between the two halves of the house on the upper storey; but down to the end of the fourteenth century they were themselves not infrequently placed on the upper floor. The kitchens of the greater establishments were spacious and lofty apartments, and built in a substantial and ornamental manner, which is something of a surprise and even shock to our modern ideas. The great kitchen of Glastonbury Abbey is a large building of stone, beautifully vaulted, and crowned with a lantern. But no doubt this treatment arose primarily from the desire, not for a handsome kitchen, but for a fireproof structure. The abbot's kitchen at Durham is equally fine, if not finer. It is of octagonal shape, 36 feet across, and is vaulted in a simple but highly ingenious way. It contained four large fireplaces as well as ovens—for it must be remembered that the abbeys in those days were not only great residential establishments but also hotels. In this connexion, again, nothing will convey a better idea of the work that went on in the kitchen of a medieval house than a visit to that of a large college, such as Christ Church at Oxford or Trinity at Cambridge. It is true that at Glastonbury, Durham, and Raby Castle the magnificence of kitchens reached its high-water mark, but even in smaller establishments it was a commodious apartment, and as time went on it was supplemented by numerous smaller rooms for special purposes, which will be mentioned hereafter.

3. Fifteenth Century.

During the fifteenth century the ideas which we have traced as underlying the arrangement of houses were very much developed. Hitherto defence had been one of the most important factors in determining the plan and the general treatment. It had led to the adoption of a courtyard, small in extent, and of which two or perhaps three sides were occupied by buildings. This court was now to be developed in size and regularity of plan, but always founded on the original idea of a hall placed



1. HADDON HALL: GROUND PLAN.
(TWELFTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.)



2. OXBURGH HALL: GROUND PLAN.
(1482.)

between the kitchen and the parlour. Attention began to be paid to the grouping and arrangement, not only from motives of convenience and security, but also from regard to external appearance. The struggle between the old over-mastering desire for safety and the new desire for elegance and cheerfulness was carried on all through this century and well into the next, but throughout this period the old desire continued to affect the results. Elegance and cheerfulness, however, asserted themselves, and produced such creations as the great hall at Kenilworth Castle, and the Buck Hall at Cowdray, in Sussex: large and lofty apartments with abundance of light admitted through windows of beautiful design. These castles and mansions were still difficult of access for those who had not the privilege of entrance, for there was yet the moat to cross and the gatehouse to traverse; and it was in the gatehouses that some of the last relics of the old defensive appliances lingered. They were a curious mixture of the old and of the new. In them appeared sinister openings of the old cross-œuillet form from which the arrow could fly, or of circular shape from which the cannon-ball could speed on a heavier but hardly longer flight. With these were mingled devices and ornamentation; and while the stranger waited for the drawbridge to fall and the portcullis to creak slowly upwards, his eye could wander over the armorial insignia which taught him the family history of the personage he came to see. The very plan of some of the houses shows how considerations of appearance mingled with those of defence. There are examples in which a strict symmetry of outline and of grouping is observed, projecting turrets being introduced at intervals that depended as much upon the designer's sense of proportion as upon the dictates of military science. Of this mode of building Hurstmonceux, in Sussex, is a splendid illustration. Another, smaller, but interesting instance is to be seen in the ruins of Kirby Muxloe, in Leicestershire. The moat remains, enclosing a rectangular space which is bounded by the remnants of the walls of the house. The ground and first floors of the gatehouse remain, and one corner tower is standing to its full height. The date is probably about 1460, and the builder must have been the William, Lord Hastings, who was executed by

Richard III. It is quite clear that there was a tower at each angle of the building, and a projection in the centre of each front, thus giving a symmetrical plan. The central projection on one front formed the gateway, but how the others were utilized there is nothing to show. Both the gateway and the corner tower are strictly symmetrical in themselves, except for the position of a door or a window; projections which correspond with each other being carefully made equal. This is quite different from the haphazard arrangement of Haddon, for instance, and is a significant fact, for the time was rapidly approaching when English architecture was to feel the touch of Italian influences, which brought, among other things, a regard for symmetry amounting sometimes to affectation. At Kirby Muxloe there is still a real desire for defence. The drawbridge and the portcullis indicate this, as also do the embrasures, set low for the better serving of the cannon. Such windows as remain are sparingly introduced into outer walls, especially on the ground-floor; they are less restricted on the upper one. Yet level with the top of the drawbridge when it was raised, and looking straight upon the direct approach, are two-light windows of fair height and width. The mixture is curious, for the defensive arrangements are genuine. The possibility of having to repel an attack was evidently contemplated, while at the same time the size of the windows was such as to afford the assailant an opportunity for a telling counter-stroke. In connexion with the gateway are the usual chambers for those in charge, and each room here, as well as in the corner tower (which also is provided with embrasures on the ground-floor), is supplied with a latrine in an attached building. The arrangement of these conveniences in connexion with medieval buildings is a matter of considerable interest. Much attention was bestowed upon their planning, and they were supplied with great liberality. They were usually placed in a projecting turret, and in all respects they complied with sanitary requirements far better than their successors in Elizabethan times, which were sometimes cut off from any outside wall. Of the remaining buildings at Kirby Muxloe there is nothing left beyond the outline of the enclosing wall.

OXBURGH HALL: GATEHOUSE.

It is certain that the projecting towers were connected by a range of buildings of lower elevation, which must have resulted in a picturesque composition of straight roofs and lofty towers at regular intervals; but where the hall was placed, or what rooms went to make up the buildings that enclosed the courtyard, is merely matter for conjecture. What we do know, however, is that combined with the old means of defence there was a large courtyard planned with a strict regard to symmetry. Another point worth attention is that this house was built of brick, as also was Hurstmonceux: and brick, which seems hardly to have been used until this century, was to become a very usual material to employ.

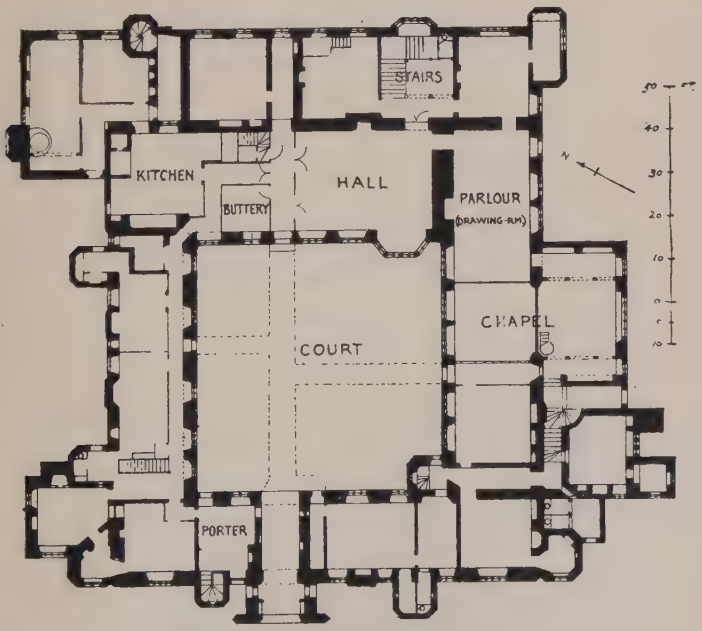
Another brick house of about the same date as Kirby Muxloe is Oxburgh Hall, in Norfolk [Plates XXVII; XXVIII], of which considerably more is left; at the same time, having been used continuously as a habitation, it has undergone many alterations, and has lost much of the genuine antiquity possessed by the untouched fragments of Kirby Muxloe. Oxburgh also is built round a courtyard within a moat, and is entered through a fine and lofty gatehouse, which retains some defensive contrivances. This gatehouse is at the bottom of the plan. Immediately opposite to it is the hall with its porch, screens, and bay-windows. To the left of the hall are the family rooms, and to the right are the servants' rooms, the kitchen being in the right-hand top corner. The small rooms which complete the quadrangle were used for various inferior purposes. The entrance-porch of the hall is not exactly opposite to the gate-house. Symmetry of design was to be more generally adopted in the next century; and although it seems to have been observed at Kirby Muxloe, it was not yet universally accepted as a maxim of house-planning. The exterior treatment at Oxburgh is also freer than in earlier buildings; windows occur plentifully in the outside walls, though they are yet small, seldom exceeding three lights in width; they still have pointed heads, but the curves are much flatter than in former times.

4. Tudor Period.

We have now come to the Tudor period. Ecclesiastical architecture was passing through its gorgeous sunset at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster. Its forms were still applied to domestic architecture, but the differences of treatment were growing more marked, and the use of brick for houses emphasized them. Windows in churches had increased to a size far beyond the needs or the possibilities of domestic architecture. The small Tudor flat-pointed window had no place in a church. Chimneys, which were essentially a domestic feature, were no longer subjected to a treatment analogous to that applied to a pinnacle; they became independent structures, upon which extraordinary pains were bestowed. Every flue was separate, and was formed of cut and moulded brickwork of surprising and intricate pattern. No country can produce such magnificent specimens of design in brick as our English chimneys of the end of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth, and they are almost invariably decorated in a fashion derived from Gothic sources, and not from the new source of inspiration, Italy.

The sixteenth century witnessed in English architecture the first stages of that change from Gothic inspiration to Classic, which affected the whole of Europe. It began with the tomb erected by Henry VIII over his father's body in the splendid chapel reared at Westminster by the deceased monarch. This tomb was designed by an Italian, Piero Torrigiano, and it set the fashion, to a certain extent, for many subsequent tombs; but its influence hardly went further. From independent sources came bits of detail in the same spirit, appearing here and there amid work which was thoroughly English in character. But the new fashion was confined to minutiae, and even in such isolated pieces of design as the chantries in cathedrals and large churches, it went only skin-deep, and left the framework of the body still Gothic. When one-third of the century had passed, there came the dissolution of the monasteries, and the

1. COMPTON WINYATES.



2. COMPTON WINYATES: GROUND PLAN.
(ABOUT 1520)

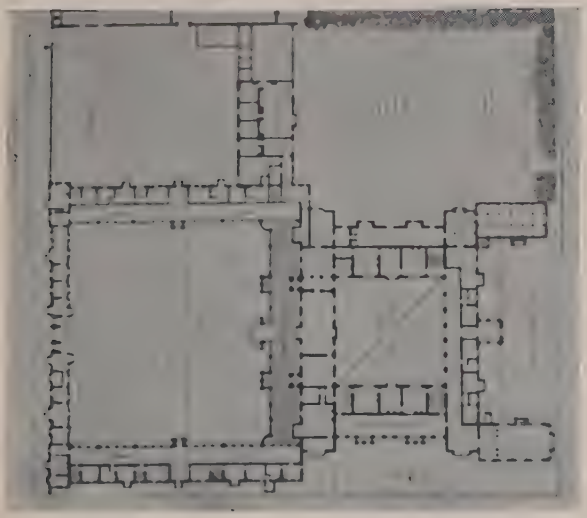
end of ecclesiastical architecture for the time being; and what development there was in architecture must henceforward be sought for in houses. Of these there was no lack: Henry VIII's reign saw many new ones, but Elizabeth's vastly more. There probably never was, until our own day, so much building done in fifty years as during the reign of Elizabeth: and it is in the sixteenth century that domestic architecture really developed, and produced so many examples as to enable us to study them with tolerable completeness.

All through the first half of the century, the old desire for defence survived, and houses were surrounded by moats. The ancient simple arrangements of plan were still adhered to. The hall was the centre of domestic life. At right angles from it ran the blocks containing on the one hand the kitchen and its dependencies, on the other hand the parlour and its supplementary rooms, thus forming three sides of a court, the square of which was completed by the gatehouse, flanked right and left with a room or two, which were occupied by the porter, and by the falconers and other outdoor servants [Pl. xxix, Compton Winyates]. The court-plan survived throughout the century, but the increasing desire for symmetry, which was one of the outcomes of the Italian influence, soon began to fashion the court into a completely regular figure. On the main axial line, which passed through the centre, were placed the entrance gateway and the porch of the hall, which led into the screens and on through another doorway into a second court or a garden, after the moat had gone out of use. If there were a second court, this axial line would also pass through an archway in its further side. On either side of this axial line, the courts were treated with almost exact symmetry, bay answering to bay, window to window, and door to door. The plan of Audley End [Pl. xxx] illustrates this symmetrical arrangement. The consequence was that the disposition of the windows did not always answer to the arrangement of the rooms, and a fine bay-window, constructed in order to balance that at the daïs end of the hall, would sometimes light nothing more important than a larder or a buttery. The rooms round these courts were usually of single thickness, that is, one

side looked into the court, the other into the open country; and there was no connecting corridor. The communication with the hall was either across the courtyard or through the adjacent chambers, and as the latter were by no means wide, in later times the owners were confronted with an insoluble problem; for the rooms, being thoroughfares, were uninhabitable consistently with comfort. They were too narrow to allow of a passage being taken out of their width, and to build a corridor round the courtyard would have been counted an act of vandalism. There is in Northamptonshire a house where the occupants of certain bedrooms still have the choice of three unusual routes to the breakfast-room; the first leads through the drawing-room, the second through the kitchen, and the third across the open courtyard. In some cases, as at Burghley House, the architectural treatment of the courtyard has allowed of a corridor being constructed round it without serious detriment to the effect, but in many cases this has not been possible, and in consequence the houses have been found intolerable and have been abandoned.

But considerations of this kind did not enter into the social ideals of the sixteenth century. The rooms surrounding the quadrangles, divided into groups of three or four, made admirable lodgings for a guest and his retinue, and each group had its door into the adjacent court. Although these groups were self-contained, there were a certain number of rooms that were common to the whole of the family and guests, of which the chief were the hall (now always on the ground-floor), the great chamber, and the long gallery. The last two were always upstairs, the former being the successor of the solar in its character of audience-chamber, and the latter being a product of the times, of which the origin is obscure. Certain it is that there was no such room in the fortified houses of the fifteenth century, built though they may have been round a courtyard. Possibly there was something of the kind in the original Hampton Court Palace, which dates from 1515 to 1540. But the long gallery first became general in Elizabeth's reign, and it developed to an extent quite astonishing. In some of the large houses it was as much as 180 or 200 feet long, and not

1. AUDLEY END.



2. AUDLEY END: GROUND PLAN.
1603 16.

infrequently the house was expressly contrived so as to obtain a gallery of great length. An unwieldy apartment of this kind could only be upstairs. It was usually placed on the first floor, but often on the second. One of the uses for which these long galleries were built was the performance of music. An inscription on the chimney-piece of the gallery at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire makes this clear. In order to reach these important upper rooms, good staircases were required. In old days, 'newel' staircases were all that was necessary. These are to be found in the earliest medieval houses, and were for centuries the only method of ascending from one floor to another. They may still be climbed in many an old church tower, and obviously were merely utilitarian, and destitute of any ornamental intention. In England they seldom exceeded four feet in width, although in France they were developed, in the time of Francis I, into grand features, and are, indeed, distinctive of French architecture of that period. The smaller variety continued in use in England until well into the sixteenth century, the latest example being probably that in the market-house at Rothwell, built about 1578. But quite suddenly, apparently, and without any noteworthy intermediate step, they were superseded by the broad straight flights of stairs which characterize Elizabethan houses, where, in place of the continuous circular ascent, broken only at intervals by an insignificant halting-place, we find straight flights of not more than six or seven steps, and then a spacious landing. More often than not, these fine staircases are in wood rather than in stone, and on the decoration of the woodwork all the fancy of the Elizabethan workman was expended. There was always at least one great staircase, and often there were three or four, all required by the exigencies of the planning, which arose quite as much from the desire to possess a splendid and symmetrical house, as from the need for obtaining the requisite accommodation; for the wants of the inmates could often have been met with much less expenditure had not considerations of display intervened. The designer was prodigal in his arrangements, and staircases had to be introduced at intervals, either for appearance sake, to balance each other in their various towers, or of necessity, since the hall still frequently extended

in height from ground to roof, thus cutting the upper floor into two distinct halves.

Some of the larger houses had two and even three courts. One of the largest of them was Hampton Court, the oldest part of which was built by Cardinal Wolsey and presented by him to Henry VIII, who continued to increase and embellish it. This great palace affords an excellent example of a large house of the Tudor period, which already foreshadows the symmetrical treatment of its successors. It has several large courts built on an axial line which passes through the archways between them. The various gatehouses are embellished with turrets and bay-windows, but the rest of the work, including the sides of the courts, is of a very plain description. In its main features it is Gothic in type, but here and there, such as in the heads of arches, and notably in the roof of the great hall, there is a strong infusion of Italian detail, which marks the new foreign influence that had touched our English architecture. This influence increased as the years went by. Instead of merely appearing in the spandril of a pointed door-head, it gradually altered the shape of the doorway itself: gave to it a round arch, flanked it with classic pilasters, and crowned it with a classic cornice. It changed the profiles of the horizontal strings which made the circuit of the building: and gave to what was a Gothic creation a classic form. It turned the old highly wrought chimney-shafts into the semblance of Greek and Roman columns, carrying a short length of entablature by way of chimney-cap. Yet in spite of all this foreign detail, the body of the house was English: notwithstanding the trammels of symmetry, its plan remained unchanged.

Its windows were a development of the English type, but with heads square instead of pointed, and with mullions and transoms much increased in number. The old windows of two or three lights gave place to windows of four, five, and six; instead of being two tiers high, they became three or even four. The area of glass was more than doubled, and its increase alarmed Bacon, who found it difficult to get away from sun or cold. The windows were glazed, and no longer closed only

with a shutter. A special development was the bay-window. Already in the fifteenth century such windows had been introduced, but they were small in size and only one storey high; towards the end of the sixteenth, however, they had developed into features which often dominated the architecture, and many a building owes its distinctive character to the bay-windows that embellish it. They are sometimes adjuncts of one or two storeys, crowned with a rich parapet: but occasionally they reach the whole height of the house, and all the architectural members which make the circuit of the walls also go round the bays, thus converting them from adjuncts into integral parts of the structure.

The courtyards at Hampton Court may have been adopted from motives of security, for it was a moated house; but those of the large Elizabethan houses were survivals, and were retained partly from sentiment, partly for architectural effect. One of these great houses must have been an extraordinary sight. Burghley House as we now see it is large, and has been compared to a village: but it was not half so large as were Holdenby and Audley End [Pl. xxx] in their prime. Holdenby was approached on the axial line by a 'large, long, straight, fair way,' as Lord Burghley called it, going the length of 'the green.' This road led to the gatehouse, which gave access to a green court surrounded by a wall pierced with a great arch on either side. Upon a terrace formed by a short flight of steps stood the front of the house, with its entrance in the centre. Through this a second court was reached, on the opposite side of which, still on the main axis, was the porch of the hall. Traversing the screens, another door gave access to yet another court, containing the kitchens, and out of this a central archway led into the gardens. It was a palace rather than a house, and was no doubt built on so vast a scale in order to accommodate the queen on her progresses.

The plan of Audley End [Pl. xxx] shows the enormous extent of one of the great houses of the early seventeenth century. It is quite symmetrical in disposition, except for the excrescence on the left, which contained the kitchen. The hall occupies the middle of the block between the two large courts, and one of

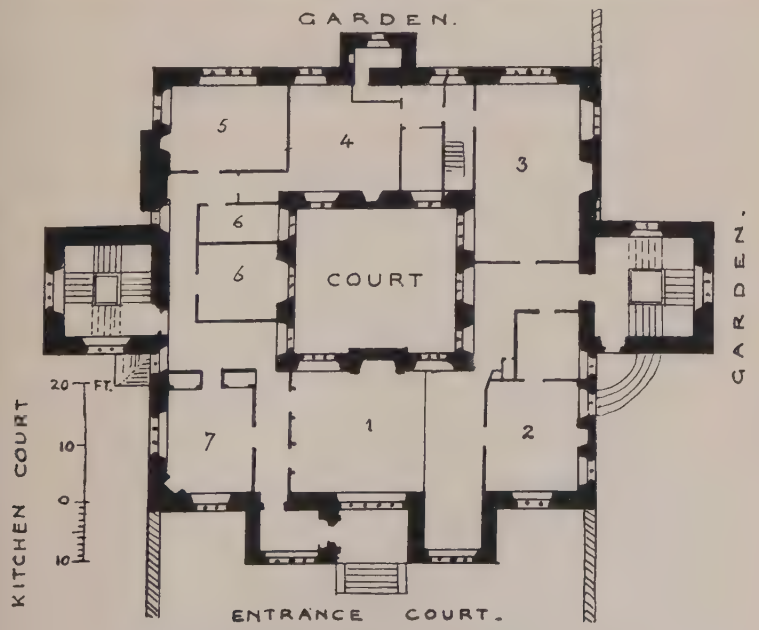
the wings at the upper end contained the chapel. There are six staircases in the first court, four in the second, and two adjacent to the wings at the upper end, twelve in all. The only part left of this vast mansion is the lower front and the two wings of the second court; but what is left forms a large house.

There was another type of mansion besides that built round the old-fashioned court. This had a long straight body with a wing at right angles to it at each end, and a projecting porch in the middle, giving a kind of Π shape, or, where the porch did not project, an H shape. It has been supposed that the E shape was adopted out of compliment to Elizabeth. This may be so, but the conjecture is not borne out by a study of the evolution of the house-planning of the period; although the architect, or surveyor, John Thorpe, did design himself a house in the shape of his initials I T, which was never built; and Sir Thomas Tresham actually built two small houses embodying the idea of the Trinity, and of the Passion of Christ, the former being an equilateral triangle, and the latter a Greek cross. Among the smaller houses the H plan was very common, and they often had a courtyard enclosed by a wall, both in front and at the back; the one entered through a gatehouse on the centre-line, and the other having a central archway in the wall. Of this type there are plenty of examples left in out-of-the-way villages, where a quaint archway in a forecourt leads directly up to the house door, which itself is in the centre of a symmetrical structure.

We thus see that the old type of house, built round a court and surrounded by a moat, was continued till quite late; in time the moat was omitted, and the courtyard, which was formerly planned in a somewhat haphazard way, was reduced to strict order and symmetry; its insignificant lights were multiplied indefinitely, and it was embellished with bay-windows and with stair-turrets; its doorways were enlarged; its porch was decorated with classic pilasters. But it was essentially the same house, with its hall in the middle, and its kitchen and its parlour on either side: the daïs was there, and the hall screen with its gallery above: from the screens ran passages to the kitchen, the buttery, and sometimes the larder; just as things had

ENTRANCE COURT.

I. CHASTLETON.



2. CHASTLETON: GROUND PLAN (ABOUT 1603).

1. Hall. 2. Little Parlour. 3. Great Parlour. 4. Nursery.
5. Room over Kitchen. 6. Pantry. 7. Parlour.

been a hundred or two hundred years earlier. But the buildings flanking the hall were greatly increased and subdivided. The kitchen was supplemented by a scullery, a 'pastry,' where the ovens were, a surveying place, a spicery, a bolting-house, and several other rooms of a like nature. A 'hall for hynds' also appears on contemporary plans. The family apartments now included the parlour, the winter parlour, the great chamber, the gallery, the chapel, and a vast number of 'lodgings,' as they were called, rooms which could serve as bedrooms or as sitting-rooms for guests. Many of the largest of these houses have either been pulled down or abandoned to decay. Others have been greatly curtailed in size, or so altered to suit modern requirements as to have lost much of their ancient character. But as instances of the courtyard plan may be cited Burghley House and Kirby Hall, both in Northamptonshire; Blickling Hall in Norfolk, Knole in Kent, and Hoghton Tower in Lancashire: as examples of the H plan, Hatfield House, Montacute in Somerset, and Doddington in Lincolnshire. Smaller houses are to be seen at Fountains Hall, Yorkshire, Cold Ashton in Gloucestershire, and Chastleton in Oxfordshire [Pl. xxxi], which is an instance of a house built round a very small court. It is, however, of great interest, as it has undergone but little alteration, and actually retains that rare feature the daïs. These are but a few out of many that might be named: and every county possesses in a greater or less degree examples illustrating work of the Elizabethan period. They are not always, perhaps not often, complete or untouched specimens; but characteristics that may be lacking in some will be found present in others, and there is always something to show how the Elizabethan architect did his work.

Inside, the same influences were at work which had changed the exterior. There were much the same features as formerly, but they were differently embellished, and the general result was one of greatly increased enrichment. The development of the staircase has been already mentioned: how from a plain circular flight of steps, of which the only purpose was to give access to the upper floors, it became crowded with fanciful ornament. Much the same may be said of the fireplace.

Formerly but little design was spent upon this feature; in early times it had consisted of a hearth on the floor, with a projecting stone canopy above it to collect the smoke; or else of a recess in the wall covered by an arch. Some little decoration was bestowed upon these arches and canopies; but in Elizabethan work the arch was surrounded by a huge chimney-piece of either stone or wood, upon which as much ornament was lavished as upon the staircases. The central feature was usually the coat of arms of the owner, supplemented by badges and other family emblems; but occasionally an allegory was represented, or a scene from scripture, or personifications of the virtues. These were surrounded by intricate devices of flowers or strap-work, while, wherever space permitted, a panel would be introduced bearing the date, or the initials or motto of the master, or some pithy sentence in Latin, French, or English. The fireplace itself was merely a hearth-stone lying in the recess, on which was burnt the wood that served as fuel, for a sea-coal fire was uncommon. The wood was kept together at the sides by andirons or fire-dogs, and the impact of the flames was received upon an iron fire-back. Both andirons and fire-backs were ornamented in the prevailing fashion, and have survived in sufficient quantity to be tolerably familiar to most people. The walls of the better rooms were covered either with tapestry or with wood panelling. The former was often of extraordinary richness in the houses of the more wealthy. Cardinal Wolsey was a great collector of fine specimens, and the tapestries of Hampton Court excited the admiration of foreign visitors. From the splendid pieces in the great mansions 'with royal arras richly dight,' down to the 'smirched worm-eaten tapestry' of the ale-house, there were many gradations of excellence, and an infinite variety of subjects, in which gods and goddesses; saints, martyrs, and prophets; huntsmen, fishermen, Roman emperors, and a host of other personages played their parts; for the characters of mythology, as well as of sacred and secular history, seemed equally real to the men and women of Elizabeth's days. The hall at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire [Pl. xxxii], is a fine example of the interior treatment of an Elizabethan room.

WOLLATON HALL, NOTTS
(1580-88.)

There is the stone screen, the large fireplace, and the panelling on the walls. The roof is of the open-timber type, but it has the peculiarity that it supports the floor of a room above. The windows, owing to the fact that the hall is surrounded by other rooms on every side, are at an unusual height from the floor.

The ceilings of Elizabeth's time were decorated in a manner peculiar to England. It was derived from the panelled ceilings of the early Tudor period, which were formed of wooden ribs arranged in rectangular patterns. These ribs were subsequently constructed in plaster, and, owing to the pliant nature of that material, soon became diverted from their original straight forms into all kinds of geometrical and interlacing designs. Like Alph, the sacred river, they meandered with a mazy motion over the whole surface of the ceiling; often emphasized, where they crossed, with delicately modelled foliage, and enclosing in their course panels of different shapes wherein, once more, the arms of the owner were emblazoned. The diversity of pattern and of treatment is marvellous, and it would be difficult to point to two designs exactly alike in different houses. No doubt there were repetitions, for the craftsmen seem to have worked from stock designs; but either the duplicates have vanished in the destruction that has overtaken many of these houses, or the detail was varied in the various cases. The effect of an Elizabethan room was therefore exceedingly rich; the walls were handsomely covered, and the great chimney-piece was a centre of decoration; the ceiling was elaborately adorned, and the windows were filled with glass of quaint and intricate pattern, or of glowing colours amid which the 'pomp of heraldry' was again displayed. Everything was done to set forth the estate and dignity of the owner. The triumph of peace was complete; it was no longer necessary to take thought of defence; it was no longer needful to stay the fancy of the designer from a sense that, in the ever-present risk of destruction by attack, expenditure upon ornament was a waste of resources. The ingenuity formerly lavished on contrivances for ensuring safety was now expended on decoration. Houses were built for comfort, convenience, and display, and they had at length entered upon that phase

of development which allies them far more closely to the nineteenth century than to the thirteenth.

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III

THE ART OF WAR, AND MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

1. From the Anglo-Saxon Conquest to the Battle of Hastings.

In the things that belong to war, no less than in the things that belong to peace, there is a complete break in British history at the Anglo-Saxon conquest. All our modern institutions go back in a continuous line to the days of the half-mythical Hengist and Cerdic, and then comes a great gap. In military institutions most of all is this the case: the Roman left many legacies of arms and armour, and even of fortification, to the Frank and the Visigoth, but the Angle and the Saxon inherited little or nothing from him. Dwelling far from the Rhine, at the very back of Germany, they were much less imbued with any tincture of Roman civilization than the Teutonic races of the South and East. Goths, Gepidae, Lombards, and Burgundians had learnt in the fifth century to wear armour, to fight on horseback, and to use a considerable variety of weapons. But the Old English, at their coming to Britain, were still a nation of foot-soldiers, and were seldom provided with any defensive armour save the shield. Evén as late as the eleventh century, representations of men in armour are very rare in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. However, we know that helm and mail-shirt (*byrnie*) existed from the earliest time of the settlement in Britain. Bede mentions them as being worn by kings and other great ones: and the *Beowulf* repeatedly speaks of the 'war net woven by the smith,' the 'hard and hand-locked byrnie,' and the 'white (i.e. polished) helm.' The head-

piece was sometimes of metal, sometimes merely of leather, stretched across an iron foundation, or having a framework of iron or bronze placed over it [Pl. XLIII, 12]: it was often adorned with the figure of a wild boar by way of amulet, and hence was called the boar-helm. But the majority of the Old English went forth to war in their tunics and felt caps alone, without any defensive armour save a shield of linden-wood, strengthened at the centre by a projecting iron boss, and at the edge by an iron rim [Pl. XLIV, 1]. Of weapons of offence the spear seems to have been by far the most common, and 'spear-wight' is a frequent synonym for the warrior [Pl. XLIII, 1–5]. The sword was not so universally employed: when found in early English graves it is a straight cut-and-thrust weapon, about three feet in length, and generally destitute of cross-piece or guard [Pl. XLIII, 6, 7]. The axe was much less common: when we come upon it, we find a light weapon with a very curved head, suitable for casting no less than for hewing [Pl. XLIII, 11]. The dagger was better known than either axe or sword, and was usually the second weapon of the Anglo-Saxon spearman. It was a large two-edged stabbing-knife, some fifteen inches long. This was the *seax*, which in popular etymology was supposed to have given the Saxons their name. Bows [Pl. XLIII, 9], javelins, and slings were known, but not much used: our ancestors were given to close fighting, not to 'long-bowls' and skirmishing tactics.

The most important part of the military strength of one of the Heptarchic kingdoms consisted of the king's sworn companions, the *comites* of Tacitus, the *gesiths* of the old law-books. These were personal retainers of the early 'alderman' or prince, who had vowed to be his 'men,' and to follow him in peace and war. They had surrendered their freedom to him, and sworn to obey him in all things: on the other hand, he maintained them, gave them their arms and raiment, parted the plunder with them, and endowed them with land after a successful conquest of British soil. To aid the *gesiths*, the whole levy of the country-side was called out when necessary; for *fyrd-fare*, the going out to war, was one of the three primary duties of the Anglo-Saxon subject. But this rude assembly,

1. NORWICH CASTLE.

2. BERKELEY CASTLE.

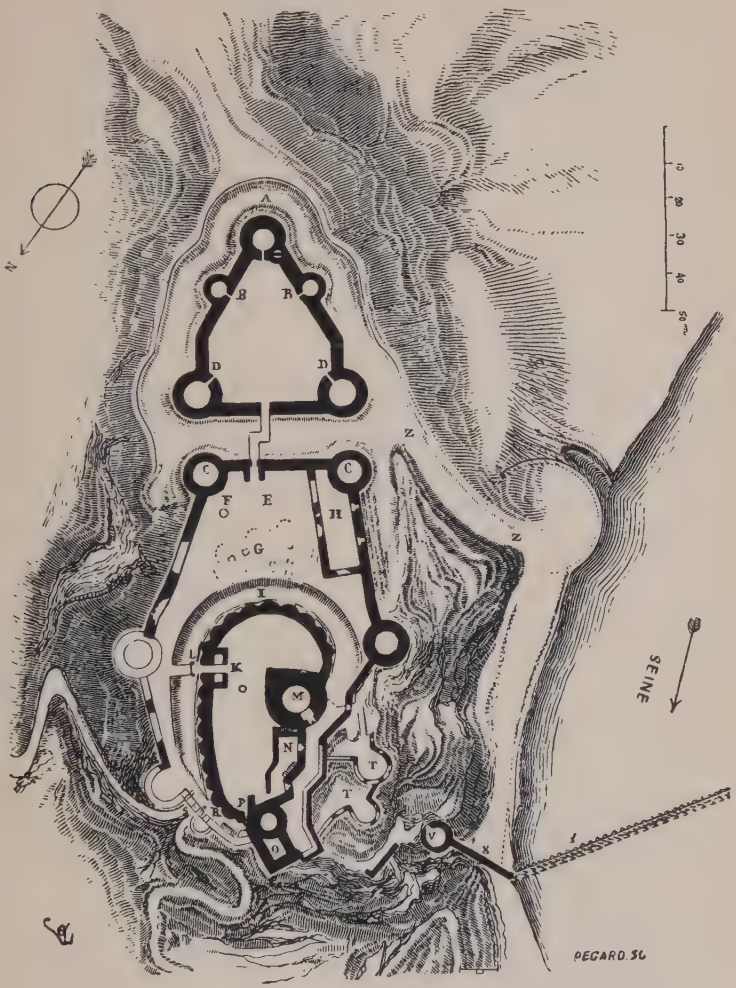
hastily equipped with improvised arms, was but the shaft of the weapon of which the *comitatus* formed the iron head.

During the four centuries in which they were occupied in expelling their Celtic neighbours, or fighting among themselves, the English seem to have made little progress in their military institutions. No desperate need came upon them, and they kept up their ancient war customs long after their kinsmen on the continent had begun to modify them. Their wars were spasmodic and inconclusive: a victorious campaign did not mean the permanent union of the conquered with the conquering state, but only that the king of one did homage to the king of the other as long as he was compelled to do so. The holding down of the vanquished would only have been possible if the conqueror had kept a standing army, and had learnt how to build fortresses among the newly subdued districts. Neither of these ideas had come to the Old English: both *gesiths* and *fyrd* went home after a victory, and fortification was almost unknown. The nation dwelt in open towns and villages, and had not even learnt how to patch up the ancient walls of such places as had a Roman origin. Their utmost idea of defence was to surround a mound with a ditch and palisade [Pl. xxxv, 1]. Bamborough, the Northumbrian capital, is the only place of which we are told that it was girt 'at first with a hedge, and later with a wall of stones.'

The objectless strife of the Heptarchic kingdoms was still in full swing, and Wessex, under Ecgberht, had just supplanted Mercia as the temporarily dominant state, when a new and all-important factor appeared in English politics. The *Vikings* (men of the *viks* or creeks) from Denmark and Norway had first shown themselves on the English coast at the end of the eighth century: but about 830 they began to appear in vastly increased numbers, and became a pressing danger to all the Anglo-Saxon realms. They were war-bands of professional pirates, led by chiefs elected for their skill and courage. At first they came merely to sack peaceful seaports, and to plunder the treasuries of wealthy monasteries, their desire being to pillage rather than to fight. But their first successes soon emboldened them to come out in much larger numbers, and

to try more dangerous feats than the hasty harrying of the shore. From the first the Vikings showed a great superiority as a fighting force to the English who came out against them. The latter, though they had once been bold seamen themselves, had for many years lost their original aptitude for the sea : in the annals of the Heptarchy naval expeditions are very rare, and none of the kingdoms that were in existence in 830–50 had any fleet to oppose to this new enemy. The Vikings came and went unhindered, retiring to their ships [Pl. LXI, A] when they found themselves hopelessly outnumbered, and disappearing into the ocean. Against the force which generally came out to meet them—the hasty levies of a single shire—they were as a rule successful, for they were professional soldiers contending with rustics fresh from the plough, and were far better furnished with arms [Pl. XLIII, 8, 10] and armour than the raw and undisciplined masses of the *fyrd*. A course of almost unbroken victory led to the rapid growth of the Viking bands : in the second generation they began to raid far inland, and to fortify for themselves permanent camps on convenient islands or headlands. A little later their confidence grew so great that they took in hand the actual conquest of England. In 867 they stormed York, slew the last two kings of Northumbria, and firmly established themselves north of the Humber. Mercia fell into their hands a little later, and they would probably have mastered Wessex also but for the military reforms of King Alfred, the saviour of England.

That great monarch was no sooner seated on the throne (871) than he began to build a permanent war-fleet to oppose the invaders even before they could get to land. Before this scheme could be completed he had to fight hard against those of the Danes who were already seated in England. The decisive battle of Ethandun forced the Viking host to capitulate, accept Christianity, and remove northward out of Wessex (878). During the next fourteen years Alfred was busily engaged in reorganizing the military strength of his realm. He constructed a large fleet of war-vessels of a size and speed exceeding those of the enemy. He built strong *burhs* [Pl. XXXV, 1], or fortified places in the chief strategical spots of Wessex,



A. High Angle Tower of Outer Ward. E. Middle Ward. H. Chapel. I. Moat. K. Gate to Inner Ward. M. Keep. O. Postern Tower. P. Postern Gate. S. Gate. V. Outer Tower. Y. Stockade across Seine. Z. The Great Ditch.

CHATEAU GAILLARD.

(From Viollet-le-Duc's *L'Architecture Militaire.*)

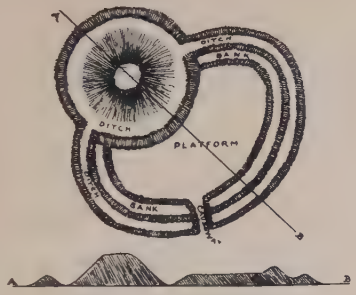
allotting to each of them a region whose warriors were to supply the garrison and keep the works in repair. The burhs were no more than improved copies of the original Anglo-Saxon strongholds: they consisted of stockaded mounds surrounded with ditches, and enclosed with outworks of a similar kind: all was mere earthwork and palisading, for masonry had hardly begun to be utilized for fortification. Though we know that Alfred patched up the broken Roman walls of London in 886, and that his daughter Æthelflæd a few years later (907) did the same at Chester, yet such instances were very rare. But ship-building and systematic fortification were not the king's only devices. He carried out a great scheme for strengthening his field army by adding to it as many fully-equipped warriors as he could contrive. This was done by taking into strict military dependence on the king, after the manner of the *comitatus* of the early ages, all the larger landed proprietors of the kingdom. Every holder of five *hides* of land, whatever his birth and status, was to be made 'of *thegn-right* worthy,' i.e. to take up both the privileges and the military duties of a member of the king's war-band. For the word *thegn* of late had superseded the earlier term of *gesith* as the appellation of those who had become the king's men and joined his following. The thegns, whether men of ancient noble blood or newly enobled *ceorls*, had to serve in complete armour, with iron helm and mail-shirt, like the Vikings whom they had to oppose. They had to follow their lord whenever he took the field, which in the days of Alfred and his immediate successors was very often. For example, during the years 892–896 almost continuous campaigning was in progress, while the attack of Hasting, the greatest of the Viking chiefs, was being beaten off from Wessex. The enlarged thegnhood formed the core of Alfred's army, but it was strengthened by the *fyrd*, which was made more useful by dividing it into two halves, of which one went out to war while the other remained behind to till the land.

Alfred's descendants, Edward the Elder and Æthelstan, carried on his system, and turned it to use for attacking the Danes who had settled in England, as well as for

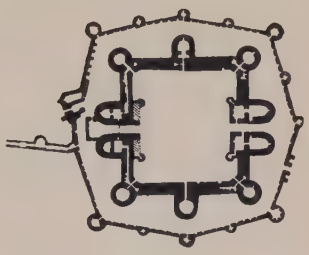
beating off their raids on Wessex. Edward was especially noted for his development of the use of *burhs*: he built great numbers of them, first along his own frontier, and then in the Danish districts which he subdued one after the other. These strongholds, with their garrisons of military settlers, proved too much for the enemy, who seldom succeeded in capturing them or shaking off the English supremacy when it had once been established. They often rebelled, and sometimes launched a desperate attack on Wessex, but such operations only resulted in a tremendous retaliatory raid by the English, who swept a whole region clear and left new *burhs* to hold it down. Now that they had farms to be burnt and cattle to be plundered, the Vikings no longer possessed their old superiority over the English in the matter of mobility. They were obliged to take the defensive, and had no longer the movable base depending on their ships which had been the strength of their ancestors. At last the men of the Danelaw came to the conclusion that submission might pay better than resistance. The decisive battle of Brunanburh (937) in which King Æthelstan defeated a great confederacy of English Danes, Scots, and Vikings from Ireland and the north, finally settled the fate of England. The surviving Scandinavian settlers submitted, and though they gave trouble once and again to Æthelstan's successors, became in a single generation very good Englishmen.

The Danish wars thus left their mark on the country in the development of the *burhs*, in the enlargement of the thegnhood, and generally in the creation of a certain tendency towards feudalism. To protect themselves in that century of storm and stress the smaller freemen had begun to commend themselves to the thegns, just as the thegns were forced to put themselves in direct dependence on the king. By the middle of the tenth century and the time of King Edgar the 'lordless man' had become an anomaly, on whom the law looked askance.

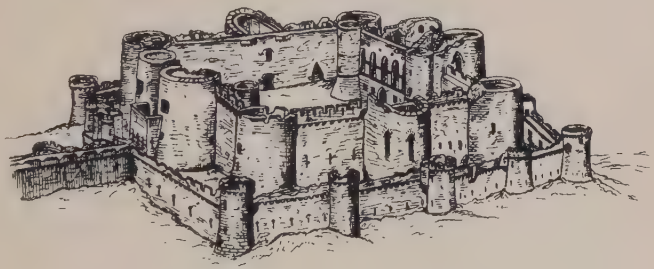
The short tenure of power by the Danish dynasty of Cnut, which followed the fall of Æthelred the Redeless, left one permanent mark on the military institutions of England. It was Cnut who first conceived the idea of a standing army. When the rest of his host returned to Denmark in 1015 he



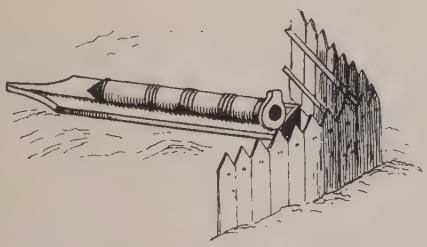
1. ANGLO-SAXON BURH: LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN, YORKS.



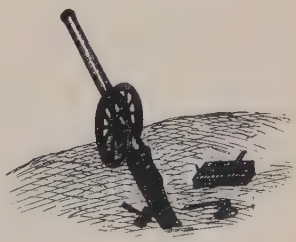
2. BEAUMARIS CASTLE: PLAN.



3. BEAUMARIS CASTLE: ELEVATION.



4. HOOPED CANNON, 15TH CENT.
(Cotton MS. Julius, E. iv.)



5. BRONZE CANNON.
(Contemp. picture of Henry VIII's defence of Portsmouth: Brit. Mus.)

Leonard Barnard, Del.

kept about him several thousand picked mercenaries, whom he called his *huscarls* or military household. They were, of course (like the Anglo-Saxon *gesiths* of five centuries before), only one more development of the old Teutonic *comitatus* of the primitive king. But they were more permanently embodied, received a definite pay, and were organized into a fixed number of 'ships' crews.' Unlike the thegnhood they were not scattered about on their lands, but were always concentrated under the king's hand, so as to be ready for instant service. It seems to have been Cnut's household troops who made popular in England the great two-handed Danish axe with heavy head and five-foot shaft [Pl. XLIII, 10]. It was their special weapon, just as it was that of the Viking bodyguard of the Eastern emperors at Constantinople, the famous corps of the 'Varangians' whose institution dates not long after that of Cnut's housecarls.

When the Danish dynasty passed away Edward the Confessor continued to maintain under arms this picked body of fighting men. But, with his usual unwisdom, he allowed his great earls to do the same: Godwine, Leofric and Siward also kept their halls full of housecarls, admirable aids in lawful war, but tempting tools for rebellion. It was their existence which made so natural the civil troubles of the Confessor's reign.

The Anglo-Danish system of war, whose characteristic feature was the formation of infantry in compact masses armed with spear, axe, and shield, was brought to a sudden end by the first great battle in English history of which we have a full account, the great fight of Hastings. Then for the first time the old national tactics were tried against the new methods that had grown up on the continent, where the strength of armies now consisted in their array of mailed horsemen, and the infantry had become a subsidiary arm, mainly consisting of archers and slingers used for the mere opening of the combat. Edward the Confessor's Norman favourite, Ralph, Earl of Hereford, had tried to teach the English thegns horsemanship, but had failed: his levies fled when opposed to the Welsh, *quia Anglos contra morem in equis pugnare iussit* (1055). It was to be disastrous to the land that its fighting men were so reluctant to learn, for eleven years

later the presence of a few thousand cavalry on Harold's side would undoubtedly have changed the event of Hastings.

At that decisive fight the English king drew up his host in a dense mass along the brow of a steep hillside, throwing up for the protection of the front line a rough defence, a ditch and a hasty fence of stakes and wattled boughs, hewn from the great forest of the Andredsweald which lay just at his back. He trusted in this manner to beat back the charge of the Norman horse, whose efficiency he had learnt to respect, since he himself had served a campaign with Duke William a few years back. In the centre were his housecarls with their axes, around the two royal standards of the Dragon and the Fighting Man: on each side were the levies of the shires, in which the well-equipped men [Pl. XLIV, 2] were outnumbered by the unarmoured rustics bearing a motley equipment of spears, axes, clubs, and swords.

Duke William, on the other hand, advanced up the hillside in a looser array: first came a line of archers [Pl. XLIV, 3] and crossbowmen, then another of infantry with spear and shield, in the third the flower of the host, the feudal horse [Pl. XLIV, 4] of Normandy and the mounted mercenaries gathered from all parts of Europe for the great enterprise.

The incidents of the battle are related in the ordinary histories: the military lesson taught at Hastings was that the purely defensive system of the Anglo-Danish infantry was insufficient to resist cavalry and archers skilfully combined by a capable general. William won because he was able to use two sorts of tactics against an enemy who had only one. A passive defensive by an army without good missile weapons is hopeless against an adversary who employs the combination of missiles and of cavalry charges.

2. From the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I.

The Norman Conquest brought about a complete change in the military organization of England. For the mailed axeman fighting on foot, and the concentric palisades of the *burh* [Pl. XXXV, 1], there were substituted the feudal horseman and

SIEGE OPERATIONS BEFORE GUNPOWDER.

(From Viollet-le-Duc's *L'Architecture Militaire*.)

the massive stone walls of the Norman castle. William the Conqueror and his sons called out the footmen of the *fyrd* on more than one occasion, but it was not the chief strength of their hosts, and indeed they generally used it only when the baronage and knighthood was for some reason or other not to be trusted. The cavalry, which during this period formed the really important part of the armed forces of the Crown, was raised on a principle new in England though familiar enough on the continent. William divided four-fifths of the soil of England among the military adventurers who had followed him: on each of the new landholders there was imposed the duty of producing a certain fixed number of knights at the king's call: the quota varied from a single 'shield' up to many scores. The assessment was made very roughly, but at the bottom of it there seems to have lain the old English notion that a five-hide unit should produce a fully armed fighting man. But the church and many of the lay holders were let off easily, and gave much less than their hidage would have justified. The surviving Anglo-Saxon landholders, who had 'bought back their lands' from the king, had to fall into line with the newcomers, and to take up the duties of knight-service. The tenants-in-chief were allowed to provide their quota of horsemen in whatever way they pleased: some maintained knights in their household, but the majority granted out small estates to sub-tenants on the feudal obligations. As long as the due number of shields was forthcoming the king made no objection. The process of sub-infeudation was tolerably complete by the time of Henry I, and the *vetus feoffamentum*, or old enfeoffment, was technically supposed to end on the day of his death. Later grants of land were said to belong to the *novum feoffamentum*.

For two centuries after the Conquest the military equipment of the knight varied little: an account of his body-armour will be found in the section on Costume.

Along with the mailed knight the Norman Conquest made England familiar with the stone-built castle. When William reached England the only known type of fortification was the palisaded *burh*. Much of his building consisted in the mere repairing and enlarging of the old English strongholds, and he

built many wooden castles of his own. But he also introduced the square stone keep, of which the Tower of London is the best-known example. The famous 'White Tower' is a huge quadrangular structure more than a hundred feet square, built of rudely-coursed rubble with a vast amount of mortar. The walls were fifteen feet thick, the windows were small and placed high up, the entrance was by a well-protected door on the first storey. This solidity made the keep impregnable against all the siege-craft of that day, even when it was not surrounded by any outworks. Such a building could hardly be battered down, and at best could only be injured by undermining. If the keep stood on a rock even this was impossible, and starvation was the besiegers only sure weapon. As a perfected type of the square keep Norwich Castle [Pl. XXXIII, 1] may be studied.

The square keep, however, was not the most common type of Norman castle. Much more usual in the early twelfth century was the 'shell-keep,' which was composed of a ring of wall surrounding an open space. This type was produced by the simple process of replacing the palisade of a Saxon *burh* by a stone wall. The crest of the mound was much better guarded by the more solid structure: the ground within was still available for buildings of stone or wood, which were generally built against the encircling rampart. Berkeley [Pl. XXXIII, 2] and Arundel among the better-known English castles show clear traces of having developed from a simple shell-keep.

Both the solid keep of the type of the Tower of London, and the hollow shell-keep of the type of Berkeley, soon had outer defences added to them. It was obviously an advantage to surround the original structure with ditches, palisades, and eventually outer walls of masonry. The keep, with its limited area, could only hold a small garrison, but into the wider space enclosed by the outer ring of defences the whole of the cattle and stores of the country-side could be removed in times of stress. Ultimately the outer fortifications were strengthened, till they formed the main line of resistance, the keep becoming merely the last refuge of the defenders. The relation of the exterior and inner structures to each other varied in every instance, as the outward growth of the castle from its central nucleus was

ASSAULT FROM THE SIEGE-TOWER.
(From Viollet-le-Duc's *L'Architecture Militaire.*)

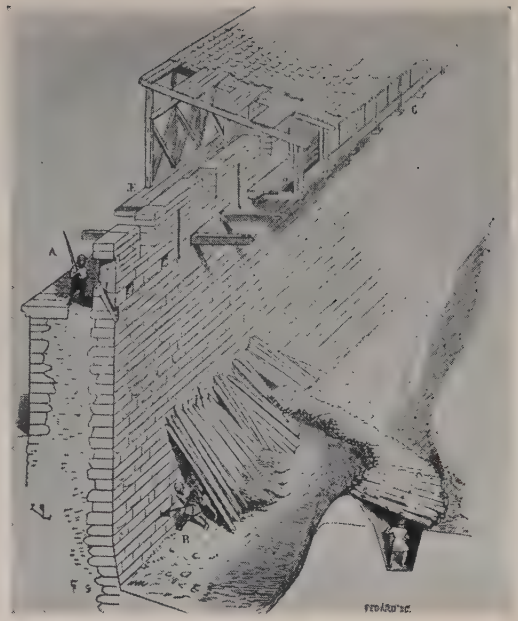
determined by the lie of the ground, and not by any general principle of military architecture. It is more usual to find the keep at one end than in the exact centre of the whole system of walls. Castle building in the later twelfth century began to be largely affected by ideas brought home from the East by the Crusaders, who had been studying the scientific military architecture of the Byzantines and Saracens. Two main tendencies may be ascribed to this Eastern influence: the plan of strengthening the external walls by setting towers in them, and the systematic as opposed to the empirical development of concentric lines of defence. The advantage of the tower was obvious: as long as the outer wall of the castle consisted of long stretches of plain 'curtain,' a besieger pushing trenches and mines against it was exposed only to missiles launched from the narrow front which he attacked. But projecting towers, set in the wall, gave the besieged the power of launching a flanking fire also upon the assailant, as soon as he drew near the point in the defences which he proposed to force. It was the object of the skilled military architect to construct his wall so that the besieger should find no 'dead angles,' unsearched by missiles, along which he might push forward his approaches.

The purpose of the multiplied outer lines of defence is obvious: the besieger must force them before he can seriously attack the main body of the place, and thus loses time. Richard I, fresh from the Holy Land, built in 1196 the best and strongest castle that the West had yet seen, namely, Château Gaillard [Pl. XXXIV], which blocks the course of the Seine above Rouen. In it we find all the newest ideas of fortification; indeed, this stronghold is twenty years ahead of any other English or French fortress. It has two 'outer wards,' well set with circular towers, and one 'inner ward,' in the wall of which the keep is inserted. The last-named building is not square, like the early Norman towers, but rounded, so as to offer no 'dead angles' to the besieger, and furnished with 'machicolations' or projecting galleries with holes pierced in their footway, through which shots can be discharged downward or stones and liquids poured on the heads of foes who have arrived at the foot of the wall. Stone machicolation seems to

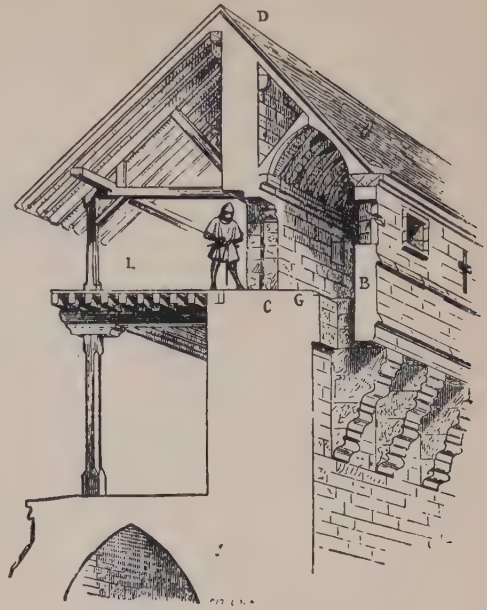
have been quite a new device at the time [Plates XXXVIII, 2; XXXIX, 1, 2]; earlier castle-builders had been content to use wooden hoardings (*brattices*) for the purpose, which had the disadvantage of being very inflammable [Plates XXXVI; XXXVII; XXXVIII, 1].

All through the time of the Anglo-Norman and early Plantagenet kings the skill of the military architect was developing with great rapidity, while the machinery of siege-craft was very little improved. The ascendency which the defensive had gained over the offensive was maintained till the invention of gunpowder in the fourteenth century. When castles or towns fell it was generally by famine. The cheapest way to deal with a rebel was not to waste time or lives by trying to storm his stronghold, but to block up its exists, and starve him out. The period 1066–1300 was essentially one of sieges, not of great battles in the open. Rufus and Henry I when dealing with their restless barons, Stephen when contending with Matilda, Henry II when warring against rebels at home and foreign enemies abroad, conducted countless leaguers, but in their time there were only two great battles, that of Northallerton in 1178 and Lincoln in 1141. Tenchebrai and Bremûle, Alnwick and Fornham were little more than cavalry skirmishes.

When, for one reason or another, a siege was pressed hard, and not turned into a mere blockade, the military engines employed were simple. They were the *mangonel*, the *balista*, and the *trébuchet*, which worked respectively by torsion, by tension, and by counterpoise. The mangonel was a machine for throwing heavy stones: it was composed of two fixed uprights, and a movable beam worked by the twisting of ropes, which, when drawn back and then suddenly released, cast the missile through the air in a high curve [see in Pl. XXXVI]. The balista, on the other hand, was essentially a device for shooting great bolts and javelins; it was like an enormous crossbow, and cast its missiles point blank, not with a high trajectory like the mangonel. The trébuchet [see in Pl. XXXVI] consisted of a balance with a long beam: one end was loaded with heavy weights, in the other, which was dragged down by force, the missile was placed; when the weighted end was released, it threw the other



1. CURTAIN WALL WITH BRATTICES.



2. CURTAIN WALL WITH MACHICOLATION.

(From Viollet-le-Duc's *L'Architecture Militaire.*)

end violently into the air, and the missile sped on its way. This device was later than the other two, and did not grow popular till the thirteenth century. Much confusion is caused to the reader of chronicles by the tiresome vagueness of the nomenclature employed by many of the medieval writers, who use the names of military machines in the most inexact and confusing manner. When we read of *tormenta*, *catapults*, *perrières*, *slings*, *biffae*, *springals*, and so forth, it is often extremely difficult to discover which of these engines is really meant. But it is certain that all belonged to one of the three classes which we have defined above.

Much more effective than *mangonels* or *trébuchets* were two other methods of attack, that by the mine and that by the 'movable tower.' When a castle was built on soft ground, and was not protected by a wet ditch, mining was likely to be successful. The mine was driven under ground till the wall was reached: stones were then removed from the latter, and the breach was underpinned, that is supported, with beams, among which were thrust straw and brushwood. When this was ignited and the beams were burnt through, the wall collapsed and a practicable breach was formed. Two well-known examples of the successful use of mining in English history are the capture of Rochester Castle by King John in 1214, and that of Bedford Castle by the Justiciar De Burgh in 1224. The use of the movable tower (*beffroi*, *belfragium*) required more skill: it was a wooden structure several storeys high protected from fire by raw hides or metal plates. It was moved forward on rollers till it reached the wall, the ditch, if there was one, being filled with fascines and so levelled up to the height of the adjacent ground. When the tower neared the rampart, a drawbridge was dropped from it on to the battlements, and the besiegers, who could thus throw a column against a thin line of defenders, rushed across to overpower the garrison [Pl. xxxvii]. The best remembered siege in which the place fell before this machine was that of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099: Richard I employed it at Acre, but it was famine rather than engineering which really reduced that stronghold.

A marked feature of the military history of England in the

later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is the great extent to which professional mercenary troops were employed. The feudal levy, being theoretically liable to serve only for forty days consecutively, was an unsuitable weapon for protracted warfare. Hence came the idea of *scutage*, by which the king offered his vassals the chance of paying a sum of money for every shield (*scutum*) that they were bound to furnish instead of serving in person. The practice was begun by Henry I, but only became common under his grandson Henry II. The money thus obtained, usually two marks (26*s.* 8*d.*) per shield, could be spent on hiring mercenaries, who were not only better disciplined and more efficient soldiers, but were prepared to keep the field for any length of time so long as their pay was forthcoming. Most of Henry II's foreign wars were fought with their aid: Richard I and John employed them by the thousand. It will be remembered that a special clause in *Magna Carta* is devoted to the banishment of the foreign men-at-arms and crossbowmen, *qui venerunt cum armis et equis ad nocumentum regni.* Henry III was less well provided with such followers, but only because his tried financial incapacity rendered him incapable of paying them. We hear of his employing mercenaries at Taillebourg, but Lewes and Evesham were fought out with purely native troops.

Though the feudal horsemen, supplemented by hired professional soldiers, did most of the fighting under the early Plantagenets, it must not be supposed that the national levy, the descendant of the Old English *fyrd*, had been allowed to be forgotten. It was called out for domestic troubles and to repel Welsh and Scottish raids. The sheriff, among his many and varied duties, was charged with that of leading the men of his shire whenever they were summoned. We have valuable information as to their equipment from the two *Assizes of Arms* of Henry II (1181) and Henry III (1252). In the former the richer men, with property worth more than sixteen marks, are bidden to appear with lances, hauberks of mail, and helms; those with less than sixteen and more than ten marks are to have lances, hauberks, or gambesons and steel caps, while the poorer classes came unarmoured and with 'swords, knives, and

1. TOWER AND PORTION OF A CURTAIN.

2. BATTLEMENTS AND MACHICOLATION OF A TOWER.

(From Viollet-le-Duc's *L'Architecture Militaire.*)

any sort of smaller arms.' In the Assize of Henry III we find an important change, in that all men with more than 40*s.* and less than 100*s.* in land, and burgesses with chattels worth more than nine and less than twenty marks, are commanded to take the field with a bow and arrows instead of the lance prescribed by the earlier ordinance. This is the first indication of the rise of archery in England. In the twelfth century crossbowmen were more esteemed than archers, and it had not occurred to Henry II to order any class of his subjects to furnish themselves with the weapon which in later generations was to be the special pride of the island.

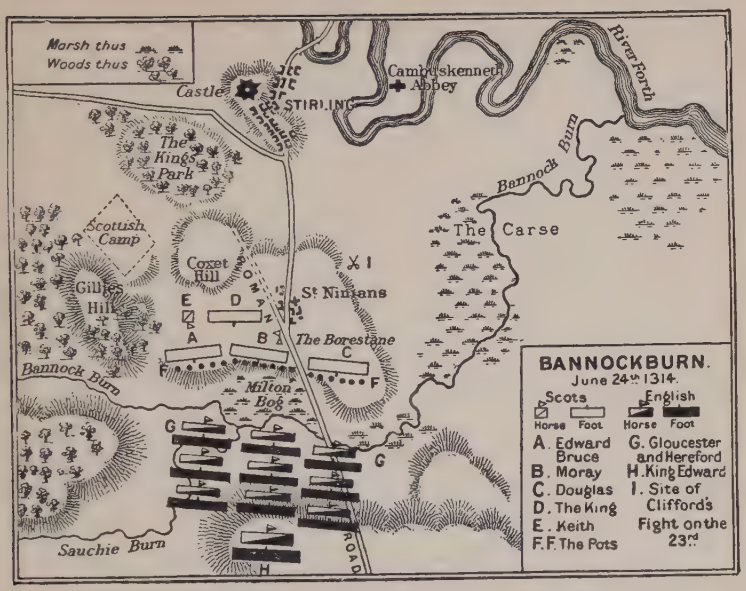
3. The Predominance of the Longbow. 1272–1485.

The appearance of the longbow as a national weapon in the Assize of Arms of 1252 is the dividing line in the military history of medieval England. Down to that date the feudal horseman was the chief power in battle, and the art of war in England was but a reflection of that of the Continent. But a new system was about to develop itself, unlike any that had been seen in any other European country, in which the efficiency of infantry armed with missile weapons was to be the main factor. Simon de Montfort was the last English general who won his victories by the charge of heavy cavalry alone: his great pupil, Edward I, was to be the first who turned the archer to full account.

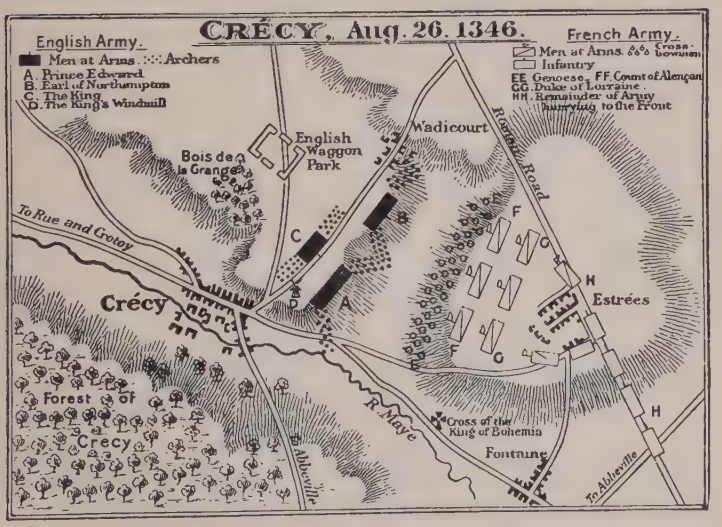
The bow had always been known in England, we have even seen it play a notable part in battle at Hastings, but it had never, till the second half of the thirteenth century, been considered a weapon of primary importance. The first district whose archers win special notice is South Wales, and it seems likely that from there improved archery spread over the Western Midlands. In the end of the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis praises the 'stiff, large, and strong bows' of the men of Gwent, and tells how the Anglo-Normans could never have conquered Ireland without the aid of the shafts of their Welsh auxiliaries. Yet the crossbowman plays a much greater part

than the archer in the wars of Richard I, John, and Henry III, and we are somewhat surprised when we find the bow prescribed as the natural weapon of the yeomanry in the Assize of Arms of 1252. Nothing is said of the efficiency of archers at Lewes and Evesham, and it is only when we arrive at the reign of Edward I that we find the bowman coming to the front. The first note is struck in 1282, when we are told that the army of Llewellyn was beaten at the fight of Orewin Bridge, because the English broke up the firm array of spearmen by pouring in volleys of arrows before the cavalry was allowed to charge. The same plan was used against the bands of the rebel prince Madoc in 1295. But the first full account of the scientific use of archery that we get is at Falkirk in 1298. Wallace had arrayed his Scots in four great masses, 'schiltrons' as the chroniclers call them. The first attack of the English cavalry upon these solid clumps of pikemen was a complete failure. Then King Edward drew back his knights and brought forward his bowmen (most of whom, as we are incidentally told, were Welsh). He concentrated their discharges on certain parts of the hostile masses, and when these were riddled with arrows, sent his cavalry into the shaken spots. The charge was completely successful, and the Scots were ridden down and cut to pieces.

This was almost a repetition of the tactics of William the Conqueror at Hastings, where cavalry and archers had been used in much the same way. Yet the victory did not make such an impression on English commanders as might have been expected. Edward II at Bannockburn (1314) did not copy his great father's tactics, but tried to break up Bruce's host by a mere frontal attack of cavalry. The Scottish pikemen, well posted behind a marshy burn, and with their front protected by small pitfalls, 'pottes' as Barbour calls them, kept the English knighthood at bay without much difficulty, and finally hurled them back across the water with great loss. Edward had brought many archers to the field, but did not know how to use them. 'He put them behind the knights, instead of on their flanks' wrote Baker of Swinbrooke, 'and bade them fire over their heads: hence they hit some few Scots in the breast, but struck many more of their own friends in the back.' At one


Marsh thus
Woods thus
Castle
STIRLING
Cambuskenneth Abbey
River Forth
The Kings Park
Bannock Burn
Scottish Camp
The Carse
Coxet Hill
St Ninians
Gillies Hill
The Borestane
Bannock Burn
Milton Bog
Sauchie Burn
ROAD
BANNOCKBURN.
June 24th 1314.
Scots
English
Horse Foot Horse Foot
A. Edward Bruce
B. Moray
C. Douglas
D. The King
E. Keith
F.F. The Pots
G. Gloucester and Hereford
H. King Edward
I. Site of Clifford's Fight on the 23rd

1.


CRÉCY, Aug. 26. 1346.
English Army.
Men at Arms. Archers
A. Prince Edward
B. Earl of Northumpton
C. The King
D. The King's Windmill
French Army.
Men at Arms.
Infantry
EE Genoese. FF Count of Alençon
GG. Duke of Lorraine.
HH. Remainder of Army hurrying to the Front
English Waggon Park
Wadicourt
Roman Road
Bois de la Grange
To Rue and Crotoy
Crécy
Forest of Crecy
Estrées
R. Maye
Cross of the King of Bohemia
Fontaine
To Abbeville
To Abbeville

2.

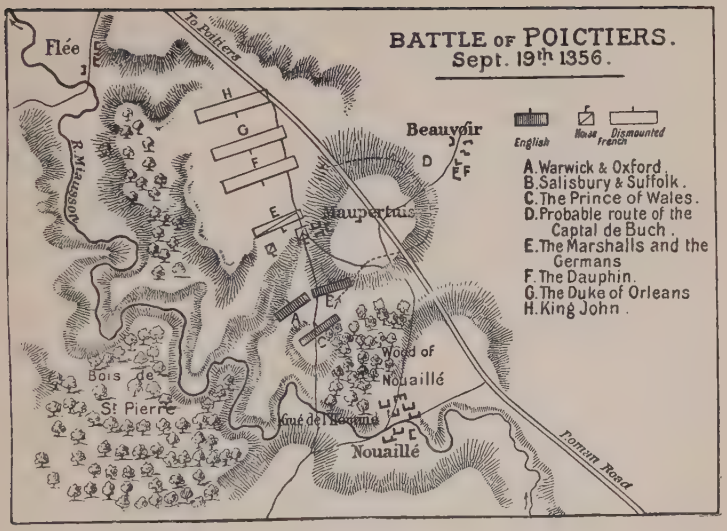
moment of the battle some of the bowmen on the English left did push to the front; but Bruce ordered them to be charged in flank by a small cavalry reserve which he had set aside, and they were ridden down or scattered for want of protection from the knights [Pl. XL, 1].

The lesson which Edward II had failed to learn from Falkirk had not been lost on more capable men. The reign of Edward III opens with two astounding victories for the archer: the first was that of Dupplin (1332), won by Edward Balliol and his English auxiliaries over the partisans of David Bruce. The invaders of Scotland dismounted their men-at-arms and formed them in a solid mass, while arraying their bowmen in thin crescent-shaped wings on either hand. The Scots, attacking in massive columns, were shot down so rapidly by the concentric rain of shafts, that they broke and fled before they had succeeded in overwhelming Balliol's small body of dismounted cavalry. Halidon Hill (1333) was an exact reproduction of Dupplin on a larger scale: most of the victors of the former fight were present, and we cannot doubt that it was they who induced the young Edward III to copy the successful tactics of the preceding year. The English were drawn up on a hillside, in three 'battles' each furnished with small wings. The knights and men-at-arms stood dismounted in the centre, the archery in loose array was strung out on either flank. The Scots, plunging straight into the snare in heavy masses, were checked by the lances in front, and shot down by the arrows from both sides till after dreadful slaughter they had to retire: then the victors mounted their horses and chased them for many miles. *Hic didicit a Scotis*, says Baker, *Anglorum generositas dextrarios reservare venationi hostium, et contra morem suorum patrum pedes pugnare.*

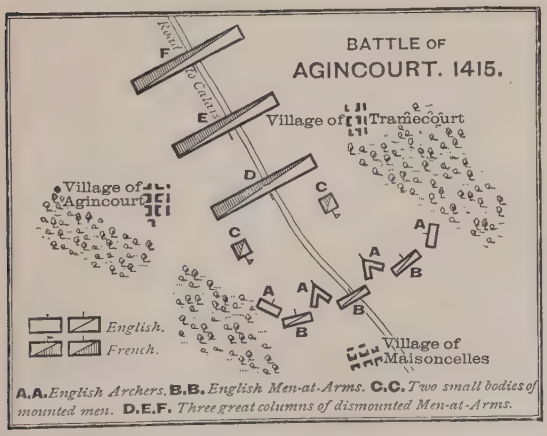
The tactics of Dupplin and Halidon Hill were transported to the Continent with great success when Edward III became involved in his French wars. In his first Flemish and Breton campaigns he did not get the chance of applying them, the French declining a pitched battle, and the English army being overweighted with German and Netherlandish auxiliaries. But at Creçy (1346) we recognize at once the methods of the Scottish war, though the enemy was no longer composed of masses of

pikemen but of squadrons of feudal horsemen. Edward's front line was composed of two 'battles' of dismounted men-at-arms, each 1,200 strong with three or four thousand archers arrayed on its wings. The bowmen stood in equal divisions on the flanks of the knights, somewhat thrown forward, so that the dismounted cavalry were, as Froissart remarks, *au fond de la bataille* [Pl. XL, 2]. The French army had not foreseen a fight that day, and came quite unexpectedly upon the English host. King Philip VI tried to hold his vassals back, and to draw up some sort of order of battle. But the rash and undisciplined French baronage pressed forward so heedlessly that an engagement became inevitable. A line of Genoese mercenary crossbowmen was first thrown out, but the archers shot them down almost before they had got into range with their clumsy weapons. Then the French *noblesse* charged: to their surprise they found that they could hardly reach the English line: the archers slew horses and men in such numbers that a bank of dead and wounded was built up in front of them, and the whole mass was brought to a standstill. More squadrons came pushing up from the rear, and in spite of the carnage the French several times got to handstrokes with the English dismounted men-at-arms. But they failed to break through them, and meanwhile the storm of arrows was always beating upon their flanks. After fifteen or sixteen fruitless onsets the ranks of the assailants were so thinned and their spirit so broken that they melted away to the rear, leaving 1,500 barons and knights and 10,000 meaner men dead in front of the English line.

This astonishing victory made a deep impression all over the Continent, and marked the commencement of that ascendency of the English infantry in war which was to last for a full century. For the next four generations the tactics first seen at Dupplin Moor dominated Western Europe: the English armies were invariably arrayed with clumps of dismounted men-at-arms in the centre, and with lines of archers on the wings. They tried to choose a favourable position, with clear ground in front and obstacles to cover their flanks, and then waited to be attacked. As long as their enemies were obliging enough to deliver frontal assaults upon them, they never failed to gain the victory.


BATTLE OF POICTIERS.
Sept. 19th 1356.
To Poitiers
Flée
R. Miosson
Beauvoir
Mauperteus
Bois de St Pierre
Wood of Nouaillé
Nouaillé
Roman Road
English
Horse
Dismounted French
A. Warwick & Oxford.
B. Salisbury & Suffolk.
C. The Prince of Wales.
D. Probable route of the Captal de Buch.
E. The Marshalls and the Germans
F. The Dauphin.
G. The Duke of Orleans
H. King John.

I.


BATTLE OF
AGINCOURT. 1415.
Road to Calais
Village of Tramecourt
Village of Agincourt
Village of Maisoncelles
English.
French.
A.A. English Archers. B.B. English Men-at-Arms. C.C. Two small bodies of mounted men. D.E.F. Three great columns of dismounted Men-at-Arms.

2.

Poictiers (1356) resembled Creçy in many of its details, but had its own peculiar features [Pl. XLI, 1]. John of France, remembering the slaughter of horses in the earlier battle, dismounted his knights and bade them attack the English position on foot; but he sent forward a forlorn hope of a few hundred cavalry, who were to try to break into the weakest spot of the Black Prince's front. This advance guard of mounted men was easily shot down: the columns of mailed knights on foot, however, succeeded in struggling up to the line and getting to hand-to-hand fighting. But they could not break through. The two leading columns had been driven off the field, when the French king with his reserve advanced for a last effort. When he was halfway up the slope, the Prince of Wales massed his wearied troops, bade them quit their line of hedge, and charged down hill. He also sent off a small detachment to make a circuit to the right and fall upon the king's flank. This sudden assault was successful: dispirited by the repulse of their main body, the French third line gave way, and when threatened by the demonstration against their flank, broke and fled. King John, refusing to turn back, was captured together with his son Philip and his most faithful retainers.

Thus the English system of tactics proved as successful against dismounted men-at-arms at Poictiers as it had against mounted squadrons at Creçy. If any further confirmation of its excellence was required, the Black Prince's victory at Navarette (1367) over the numerous light horse of John of Castille was sufficient evidence. Aljubarotta (1385), a success won by the Portuguese over the Spaniards and French, may also be mentioned. The victor was assisted by English auxiliaries and adopted English methods, closely copying the arrangements of Poictiers.

If Edward III was ultimately unsuccessful in his attack on France it was not owing to any fault in his tactics, but purely because the enemy made up his mind to refuse pitched battles, and wearied out the English by scattered raids and long sieges. The next century was to show that the system of Dupplin Moor and Creçy was as effective as ever under the proper conditions.

The equipment of the knights who fought under Edward III is described in the Section on Costume. Plate armour

was now superseding chain-mail, but the increased protection it gave to the body was won at the cost of a notable addition of weight; the knight of 1350, with his elaborate double sheathing, of plate laid above the original mail, had lost the power of rapid and easy movement which the knight of 1250 had still possessed. He tired sooner, could not walk far or long when he dismounted, and when he had lost his footing found it difficult to rise again. But fashion persisted in adding extra pieces to his panoply, and the development of the long-bow with its penetrating shaft tempted the armourer to make the plate even thicker and heavier. By the fifteenth century its weight had become so overwhelming that a man-at-arms once overthrown was quite at the mercy of his enemy, and that combatants were not unfrequently exhausted by a short fight to such an extent that they were actually stifled in their armour, and died without having received any mortal wound.

In the matter of military architecture the medieval system had reached its perfection in the time of Edward I. The principle of concentric fortification, the first great development of which had been seen in the Château Gaillard, had become universally accepted. All castles of the best type had now several lines of defence, which could be maintained one after another even when the besieger had established a lodgement step by step in the successive outworks. The elaborate ground-plan of strongholds like Beaumaris [Pl. xxxv, 2, 3], Carnarvon, or Caerphilly, deserves study as a model of ingenuity: so well had defence been accumulated upon defence that they were practically impregnable against the most imposing array of *perrières* and *trébuchets*. It seemed as if the besieger was checkmated.

But only a generation later there arose a new power in siege-craft which was to revolutionize all the old ideas: this was gunpowder. Its origin is obscure, but goes back at least to the second decade of the fourteenth century. The first powder was ill-made and irregular in its effect: the earliest cannon were small, clumsily built, and hard to work. But with all their faults they revolutionized the relations of the offensive and the defensive. Cannon could batter down walls of a solidity which would have laughed to scorn all manner of mangonels and

catapults. The most perfect fortresses of the elder age, even the famous triple walls of Constantinople itself, proved helpless before the new invention. Its beginnings, however, were modest. We have some evidence that cannon of a primitive sort, 'crakys of war' the chronicler calls them, were used at Edward III's siege of Berwick in 1333. But it is certain that in 1338 the French fleet which attacked Southampton was provided with a *pot de fer* and three pounds of gunpowder for shooting iron bolts, and that, later in the same year, *pouldres et canons* were employed against the English castle of Puy Guilhem in Aquitaine. The first clear mention of their use on this side of the Channel is in 1344, when the king directed one Thomas de Roldeston, his chief engineer, to make powder for his guns. One of Roldeston's accounts shows that he had to pay eighteenpence a pound for saltpetre and eightpence for sulphur, so that powder was a very costly compound in those days. But its use spread rapidly: in 1346–7 Edward had a considerable battering train of siege guns at the leaguer of Calais. On the other hand, it is most unlikely that, as some chronicles assert, he had guns at Creçy, for the cannon of the day were too heavy and clumsy for the forced marches which he had been executing just before that battle, and it is many years later before we find them employed for field (as opposed to siege) work.

The art of metal-casting was in its infancy in the fourteenth century, and the first molten guns, small though they were, were so liable to flaws and airholes, which made them burst after a little use, that for a time they were unpopular. Instead, bars of approved quality were welded together around a wooden core, and then clamped by four or five iron hoops to keep them still more solidly compacted. When the core was withdrawn, a practicable gun was the result [Pl. xxxv, 4]. But the hooped guns were hardly less dangerous than the cast ones, for after a time the welding gave way at some point, and an unlucky discharge resolved the engine into its component parts, and sent them flying in all directions. It was an accident of this kind which slew James II of Scotland at the siege of Roxburgh (1460).

As years went on and both gun-founders and powder-makers grew more skilful, the advantage of the offensive over the defensive grew more and more marked, and famine ceased to be the besieger's best weapon. After a time the besieged also took to using cannon, to oppose the enemy's fire, search his trenches, and beat down his palisades. But the older type of fortress did not easily lend itself to the use of artillery, for the ramparts were generally too narrow, and where they were not, the constant recoil of the pieces was found to shake the walls. Sometimes the defender's cannon had to be withdrawn because it was doing as much damage to the walls as was that of the besieger. Artillery in fact ultimately forced military engineers to take in hand the general reconstruction of strongholds, and to cease putting all their trust in high walls of hewn stone. But this development came much later than the times with which we are now dealing. There was so little civil war in England between 1320 and 1460 that the need for reconstruction did not make itself felt.

The reigns of Richard II and Henry IV make a practical break in the history of the great continental wars of England, though we must not forget episodes like John of Gaunt's expedition to Castile (1385), or Clarence's presence with English auxiliaries at the battle of St. Cloud (1411). But when the second act of the Hundred Years' War commenced, with Henry V's siege of Harfleur, we find that the tactics of English and French alike had altered little during the forty years of comparative peace that had gone by. The French had learnt nothing in their civil wars nor in their Flemish campaigns, and Homildon Hill and Shrewsbury had only confirmed the English in their confidence in the longbow. Agincourt, therefore, reads like a mere repetition of Poictiers. Henry V, like the Black Prince, took up the best position he could find [Pl. XLI, 2], covered with woods on both flanks, and arrayed his men in three corps, each composed of a central mass of dismounted men-at-arms with wings of archers. He only improved on his great-uncle's arrangements by giving his archers iron-shod stakes, which they arranged in front of themselves, as *chevaux-de-frise*, to keep off cavalry. The Constable of France (like King

John at Poictiers) formed three heavy lines of dismounted men-at-arms, and sent on in front of them a forlorn hope of picked knights on horseback. The main difference between the two fights lay in the fact that at Poictiers the two armies had between them a scrubby hillside, and at Agincourt newly ploughed fields sodden with ten days of rain. At the second battle, as at the first, the French mounted men were shot down long before they could close. But when the masses of men-at-arms on foot came up, they were so riddled with arrows, so embogged in the deep mud, and so tired by walking a mile in their heavy armour, that they came to a complete standstill in front of King Henry's line. The English, in spite of their inferior numbers, saw the enemy reduced to such helplessness that they were emboldened to charge. The result was an easy victory: the French lines were hurled one on another in complete helplessness: men fell in heaps and were stifled as they lay. The English archers flung down their bows and beat upon the armour of the crowded knights with swords and mallets 'like smiths hammering upon anvils,' till all who stayed behind had been overthrown and the rest had fled [Pl. XLVII, 2, 3].

No battle of such importance as Agincourt was fought during the rest of the war, which became for the next ten years mainly an affair of sieges. Even to deliver Rouen in 1418, the French did not fight a general action. But when they did consent to come out into the open, they showed that they had learnt little. At Cravant, at Verneuil, and again at the 'Battle of the Herrings,' they kept trying to break the English line of lances flanked with bows by headlong onslaughts of mailed men-at-arms, sometimes mounted, but generally on foot. Defeat was always bloody, for in their cumbrous panoply the dismounted knights could not get away, and were easily caught by the pursuer.

When the English advance came to a final stand before Orleans in 1429, and the French, inspired by Joan of Arc, began to recover ground, the turning-point of the war was not a battle but a siege. Bedford was trying to accomplish the impossible, to conquer a whole kingdom with an army that never mustered 15,000 or 20,000 men. Orleans, considered as a siege, was almost farcical. The besiegers with some 4,000

men tried to cover a front of four or five miles: they could not surround the place, but merely built *bastilles* in front of its gates. Reinforcements and supplies slipped in without much trouble, and when Joan led the garrison to the attack of the *bastilles*, the handful of men entrenched in each could make no effective resistance. There is more military interest in the subsequent battle of Patay, where the pursuing French attacked the retreating English 'before they could form a line, or the archers could fix their stakes.' They rushed in, caught the invaders in disorder, and routed them. From this moment the annals of the war, instead of consisting of a long list of French fortresses beleaguered and taken by the English, become an equally weary chronicle of English garrisons surrounded and slowly reduced by the French. The only pitched battles were fought in the very last years of the war. At Formigny (1450) the English army, advancing to the relief of Caen, was faced by a covering force, and took up a position in which it waited to be attacked. Bow and lance were holding their own, when a fresh French corps appeared from a different direction, and fell upon the flank and rear of the English. The thin line of archers and men-at-arms, ranged along a hedgeside, could not protect itself by forming a new front: it was rolled up, enveloped, and absolutely cut to pieces. The English tactics in fact were only certain of success if the flanks were absolutely safe, which at Formigny they were not, and if the enemy confined himself to frontal attacks.

Castillon, the last battle of the Hundred Years' War, differs in character from all the rest, in that the English attacked an entrenched position, instead of assuming the defensive in their usual style. The French had fortified themselves behind earthworks, on which they had planted much artillery. The aged Lord Talbot, a veteran of thirty years' service, threw away his previous reputation for capable generalship, by assailing the enemy's almost impregnable lines with a frontal attack. His men-at-arms dismounted and dashed at the earthworks, but were blown to pieces by the fire of the cannon, and recoiled in disorder; the French then sallied out and cut both them and the archers to pieces, ere any order of battle could be re-established.

The armies with which the latter half of the Hundred Years' War were fought were raised by a method which had become prevalent in the second part of the reign of Edward III. Instead of issuing *Commissions of Array* to raise shire-levies, as he had done in his earlier years, that monarch had taken, in his later campaigns, to procuring men by *Indenture*. By this system the king bargained with his knights and nobles, or even with professional mercenary captains, that they should enlist for his service contingents of volunteers. The number of soldiers to be procured was stated, as also the time for which the hire was made, and the rate at which the king was to pay. A typical indenture may be quoted as an example: on September 30, 1360, Edward III bargains with Thomas Earl of Kent that the latter shall raise sixty men-at-arms (of whom ten are to be knights) and 120 bowmen, all properly equipped and provided with horses. The term of hire is for three months, the rate is to be 'the accustomed wages of war,' and the sum is to be paid to the earl beforehand, that he may have ready money for fitting out the contingent. Such agreements were of course quite distinct from a vassal's ordinary feudal obligations: they were private bargains which he made for his own profit.

Many English knights and nobles loved the military life so well that they remained over seas at the head of their companies for very long periods, and practically became professional soldiers. Similarly, a class of the same sort was developed to fill the ranks: the pay of a man-at-arms or an archer was high, considering the purchasing power of money in those days. The former received (1346) a shilling a day, the latter sixpence if he brought a horse, threepence if he was on foot. This, with the chance of plunder and ransom-money, was a very tempting maintenance for a man of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It was at the head of such bands, skilled veterans with a keen eye for booty, that John of Gaunt, Henry V, or the Duke of Bedford, carried out their French campaigns. One of the most notable results of the final expulsion of the English from Normandy and Aquitaine in 1451–3, was that thousands of these professional mercenaries, accustomed for years to nothing

but war, were cast adrift without employment. Their presence was not the least important of the conditions which made the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses possible, and even probable. The idle hands were there, and the mischief was not long in coming.

The armies which fought for York or Lancaster had as their core the military households of the nobles, largely composed of the disbanded veterans from the French war, and the retainers gathered under the evil system of 'Livery and Maintenance.' This was a device by which great lords invited their smaller neighbours to put themselves under their protection, to wear their 'livery'—i. e. their badge, the Bear and Ragged Staff, or the Stafford Knot, or the Holland Cresset—and to be 'maintained,' i. e. championed, by them in their quarrels and lawsuits. In return the receiver of the livery undertook to turn out in arms at his patron's call. Wealthy knights and squires who could put a couple of hundred retainers into the field, did not think it beneath their dignity to accept the badge of a great earl like Warwick or Northumberland. It was not unknown for even a baron to place himself under the protection of one of the greater magnates. Both the Yorkists and the Lancastrians used to supplement their bands of partisans by issuing commissions of array to call out the shire levies. But the troops thus obtained were far less useful to them than their own liveried retainers, since the greater part of the nation would gladly have been neutral, and did not like to be forced to take a side, with the chance of discovering that it was the weaker one. Nothing can be more typical of public feeling than the fact that no town chose to stand a siege during the whole war. Whatever the temper of the citizens, they used to open their gates to any leader who appeared before them with a sufficient force. Even London, which passed as being a Yorkist stronghold, was ready to capitulate without a blow after the second battle of St. Albans.

The battles of the Wars of the Roses were fought on the old system of English tactics. Each party arrayed itself in three 'battles,' consisting of a central body of dismounted men-at-arms and billmen, with wings of archers. The army which was on

the defensive seized a hillside or a hedgerow and held it: the opposing troops strove to turn them out. The fights were usually bloody, because of the great force of excellent archery, and because the heavy armour of the man-at-arms made it impossible for him to fly with speed if his party was routed. The second battle of St. Albans, Towton, Barnet, and Tewkesbury were all first-class battles of this simple kind. Northampton was complicated by the fact that the Lancastrians had entrenched themselves and garnished their lines with cannon: but a severe rain-storm just before the engagement flooded their works, and drenched their powder, so that they got no profit from their precaution. At Edgecott the Yorkists had hardly any archers with them, and owed their defeat to the preponderant arrow-flight of the northern rebels. The first battle of St. Albans was little more than a scuffle on a large scale down the High Street of a small town.

The one new feature presented by the battles of the Wars of the Roses is that cannon were frequently employed in them: a new feature in English engagements. But it cannot be said that the artillery made much difference in the fate of the day. At Northampton it was drowned out by rain: at Barnet both sides shot at each other all night without any effective result. Only at the obscure fight of Lose-Coat Field (1470) does it seem to have acted effectively: there the Lincolnshire rebels, marching to surprise King Edward's camp, found him already arrayed to meet them, and were scattered by one general salvo of his guns. The smaller firearms are also heard of for the first time in this war. Warwick, at the second battle of St. Albans, had some Burgundian 'hand-gun men' [Pl. XLVII, 4], but they did him little service; a storm, which beat in their faces and blew out their matches, seems to have utterly nonplussed them. Nor do we hear any good of a similar body of mercenaries, lent by Charles the Bold to Edward IV for his expedition to conquer England in 1471. The fact was that the longbow was still too effective to fear the competition of the clumsy tubes, mounted on wooden staves and fired by matches, which were the progenitors of the musket.

In sieges, however, firearms made their mark during the

Wars of the Roses. The castles of England were in 1460 much as they had been in 1260. During the long period of practical freedom from civil war which had elapsed between Boroughbridge and the first fight at St. Albans (1322–1455), the castle had ceased to play the prominent part in military and social life which it had occupied in earlier centuries. The only serious rebellions in the intervening period, those of the Percies and Glendower in the time of Henry IV, had been purely local, and did not influence the main body of the country. Hence castle-building had ceased to develop, and by the fifteenth century the nobility, in the construction of their dwellings, had begun to consider comfort rather than defensive power. The moated manor-house is more typical of the times than the castle proper, and nothing of first-rate importance in military respects had been built since Edward I's great fortresses in Wales.

Cannon made short work of the old fastnesses. The best remembered sieges are those of Bamborough and Dunstanburgh (1465), when Warwick's artillery easily battered down the massive walls of the Percy strongholds. The only fortresses which made very long defences were those unusually favoured by natural position, and placed in remote corners. Jasper Tudor long held out in Harlech, and Oxford in St. Michael's Mount: both were difficult to get at with the short-ranged artillery of that day, and it is possible that, owing to their inaccessibility, they were only blockaded and not battered. But unfortunately details are wanting.

4. The Growth of Firearms and the Decline of the Longbow. 1485–1602.

The Wars of the Roses had, for a whole generation, kept England practically out of continental politics. The attempts of Edward IV to intervene in them had come to a most inglorious end. As a natural consequence we find that while beyond the Channel the military art was going through a complete transformation, and assuming a more modern character, in England it remained unchanged. The cautious

policy of Henry VII protracted this state of affairs into the beginning of the sixteenth century. Abroad every monarch was beginning to raise a standing army. The arquebus was rapidly superseding the crossbow and all other missile weapons. The pike of the Swiss and the *Lanzknechts* was at the height of its reputation: the man-at-arms was relinquishing the habit of dismounting for battle, which had been the rule since Poictiers, and was once more charging on horseback. But in England things went on in the old style of Creçy and Agincourt, and no changes were to be seen till the sixteenth century was well advanced.

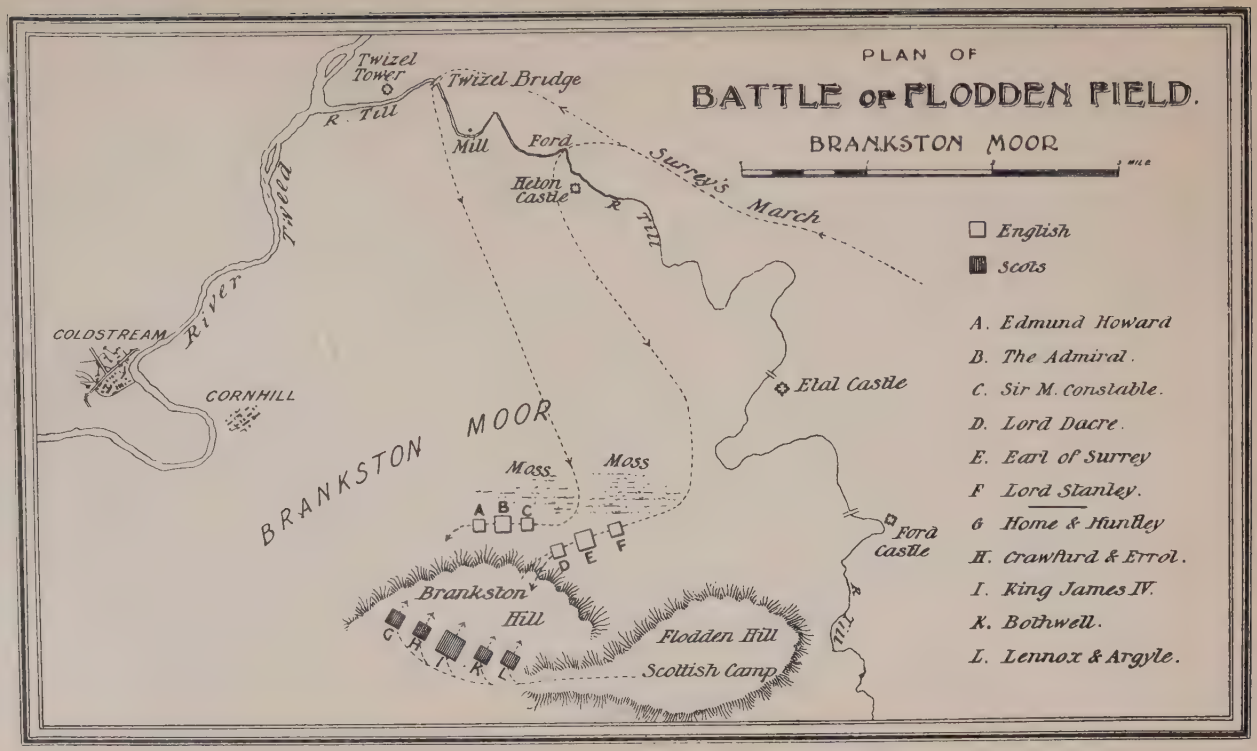
The military importance of Henry VII's reign consists rather in what he undid than in what he accomplished. His great feat was the abolition of the evil custom of Livery and Maintenance. The 'household men' and badged retainers, who made rebellion so easy, were an abomination to him. He made the giving of liveries and the making of private treaties and agreements penal. Even his most faithful servant the Earl of Oxford, the victor of Bosworth, was heavily fined for having too many servants wearing the silver mullet of the De Veres. In military organization Henry went back to the modes of Edward III, and raised his armies mainly by commissions of array to the counties, but partly by the indenture system.

From the tactical point of view his reign forms but a continuation on a small scale of the Wars of the Roses. In the forms of battle, the use of arms and armour, and the arraying of troops, we see little change. We still find the men-at-arms dismounting to fight, and the archery ranging themselves on the wings. It is worth noting that at Stoke Field, where the Earl of Lincoln brought a number of German mercenaries to the fray, bow and bill prevailed easily over pike and hand-gun. The *Lanzknechts* of Martin Schwartz were shot down by the archery no less than the Irish javelin-men of Fitzgerald. Blackheath Field, on the other hand, shows another point of interest: Lord Audley and the Cornishmen were routed, not for want of archery, but for want of artillery. It is said that after the fight observers noted that the rebels' bows averaged several inches more in length than those of the men of the home counties who had

come out in the king's behalf. But the thundering discharges of the royal train of cannon, to which the Cornish had nothing to oppose, settled the day. The fight may fairly be compared to Edward IV's victory at Lose-Coat Field. The English armies were seldom seen on the Continent during Henry VII's reign: in the one important expedition, that of Lord Morley to Flanders in 1491, the archers are said to have acquitted themselves well against the French, whose entrenched camp by Dixmuide they succeeded in capturing.

The only visible change was in armour: this had grown heavier than ever [Pl. XLVI, 4], and from about 1490 to 1530 was at its most ponderous stage; it had become absolutely impossible for a knight once overthrown to get on his legs again, and a very short fight in such cumbrous panoply sufficed to tire out the strongest man. The fact was that the armourers were engaged in a vain attempt to cope with the penetrating power of firearms, and had not yet confessed themselves beaten. It was only in the middle of the sixteenth century that men began to see that the contest must be given up, and that the practical thing to do was to risk the balls, and win back some degree of mobility by discarding as much as possible of the armour. By 1530 it had reached the stage when it not only cumbered its wearer, but prevented him from doing much harm to his adversaries.

The reign of Henry VIII contrasts with that of his father in that all the new influences in the military art began to cross the Channel. The knights once more took to fighting habitually on horseback, which they had not done since Bannockburn. The pictures of the king's victory at Guinegate (the 'Battle of the Spurs'), painted by his command, show his men-at-arms riding forward in orderly squadrons of a deep formation. Henry was a patron of firearms, not only of cannon but of the smaller weapons also. He took great interest in his foundry, where large bronze pieces [Pl. XXXV, 5], much more effective than the hooped guns of the previous century, were cast. His founders, Peter of Cöln and Peter Baude, even made for him shells, then a new invention: they are described as 'hollow shot of iron filled with fireworks and fitted with


PLAN OF
BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD.
BRANKSTON MOOR
Twizel Tower
Twizel Bridge
R. Till
Mill
Ford
Surrey's March
Heton Castle
R. Till
River Tweed
COLDSTREAM
CORNHILL
BRANKSTON MOOR
Mass
Mass
Etal Castle
Ford Castle
R. Till
A B C
D E F
G H I K L
Brankston Hill
Flodden Hill
Scottish Camp
English
Scots
A. Edmund Howard
B. The Admiral.
C. Sir M. Constable.
D. Lord Dacre.
E. Earl of Surrey
F. Lord Stanley.
G. Home & Huntley
H. Crawfurd & Errol.
I. King James IV.
K. Bothwell.
L. Lennox & Argyle.

a match, which broke into small pieces, whereof any hitting a man did kill or spoil him' (1543). In the second half of his reign Henry often hired Germans and other mercenaries armed with *calivers* and arquebuses, and seems to have induced his own subjects to begin to employ these weapons.

But the bow was still the main arm of the English infantry: it still had an enormous advantage in rapidity of discharge over any sort of firearm, which quite compensated for its somewhat inferior penetrating power. Flodden Field was its last great victory: there the enemy was the same as at the old fights of Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill, the heavy masses of the Scotch pikemen [Pl. XLII]. James IV, like so many of his predecessors in the command of a Scottish host, made at Flodden the mistake of coming down from his position and making a fierce frontal attack on Surrey's army. In different parts of the field the fortunes of the day varied: but its main crisis was settled, as at Falkirk and Halidon Hill, by the archery shaking the Scottish main column, and the knights then getting into the gaps. James and his nobles fought and died valiantly around their standard, but could not resist the fatal combination of arrow and lance.

Henry VIII, though constantly engaged in war, was not himself a great general, nor did he succeed in finding one among his followers. The most frequent cause of the miscarriage of his enterprises was the bad discipline which he kept in his hosts. Military mutinies had been almost unknown hitherto in English history: armies had been kept together by the feudal obedience of vassals to their lords, or by the confidence which the professional soldiers raised under indentures felt in the veteran captains who hired them. But Henry's troops were inspired by no such feelings: the old baronage had been practically destroyed in the Wars of the Roses, and the new families that had taken their places could not count on any such fidelity from their retainers. Moreover the prohibition of Livery and Maintenance struck at the roots of such connexions. Henry's troops were shire-levies, hastily embodied and sent over-sea under officers of whom they knew little, quite unlike the old bands of Agincourt or Verneuil. His generals,

Dorset, Suffolk and the rest, seem to have had little control over them. Both the campaign of 1512 round St. Sebastian, and that of 1523 in Artois and Picardy came to a summary end owing to the army 'going on strike,' seizing shipping, and returning home. Henry himself was able to secure obedience by employing his usual drastic methods, but none of his lieutenants could do the like. Hence came many disgraceful scenes of indiscipline. This was enough, without other co-operating causes, to account for many of his military fiascos.

One of the facts which strikes us most forcibly in considering Henry's career is that it was well for England that he did not copy his continental contemporaries in raising a standing army. The Tudor despotism was bad enough as things stood, but if the king had been provided with a large permanent force of mercenaries, there would have been no check on his tyranny. Fortunately his unsound finance proved sufficient to prevent any such idea from being put into practice. Obliged to depend for military force on shire-levies and volunteers engaged for short periods, he had to take public opinion into consideration. There was a danger, as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' showed, that if he pressed matters too far he might find the whole country in arms, and have no force to defend him save his handfull of 'Gentlemen-pensioners' and Yeomen of the Guard. Hence he was compelled to humour the nation in a fashion that must often have been galling to him.

It is perhaps worth noting that Henry was the first English sovereign who prescribed a fixed uniform for his army. In early reigns the wearing of the red St. George's cross as a distinguishing mark had been considered sufficient. But in his ordinance of 1543 the king commanded that the whole of his infantry should be furnished with blue coats trimmed with red, and parti-coloured breeches, of which one leg was to be red and one blue. The red cross was to be retained, and no one was to wear any other badge belonging to any captain or commander. Over their blue coats the billmen and archers [Pl. XLVII, 5, 6] generally wore a plain back-and-breast piece, or occasionally a leather 'jack.' The headgear consisted partly of the round steel cap usual in the previous generation, partly

of the *morion*, a pointed cap with a broad brim, somewhat peaked in front and behind [Pl. LIII, 2].

There is little to note in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, in which the military practices of the time of their father were simply continued. We seemed to trace an ever-growing use of firearms, both great and small, but the bow was still the main weapon of the infantry. At Pinkie, the last great battle with the pikemen of Scotland, the men-at-arms charged the hostile columns and were beaten off, but artillery was then brought up and set to play upon the heavy masses with fatal effect. When it had shaken them the cavalry charged again, this time with complete success and murderous result. We hear less of the archery than at Flodden, the last battle of the old type. Indeed, Pinkie reminds us more of Marignano, the great continental battle (1515) in which Francis I had beaten the famous pikemen of Switzerland by combining cavalry charges and salvos of artillery.

One token of the fact that we are leaving the Middle Ages and approaching modern military phraseology is that during the reign of Mary we find the first use of the word 'regiment' in its present sense. The English contingent sent to the aid of the Spaniards in the campaign of St. Quentin is officially called 'a regiment of 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot.' These troops consisted of 500 'lances' (fully equipped men-at-arms), 500 'demi-lances' (light horse), and 40 'bands' of foot-soldiers, each consisting of 100 men under a captain, lieutenant, and 'ancient' (ensign, of which 'ancient' is probably only a corrupt form).

Down to Mary's reign the shire-levy had been theoretically under the command of the sheriff, as in early Norman and Plantagenet days, though actually raised by commissions of array for each county. Now a new officer, the 'Lord-Lieutenant,' was created to take complete charge of the military affairs of the county, the sheriff becoming a purely civil magistrate. The new arrangement lasted down to the nineteenth century.

In Elizabeth's long reign the last traces of the old English tactics of the Middle Ages disappear, and in things military the nation falls into line with the practice of the Continent. The main feature of the time is the complete decay of the long-

bow. In 1558 it was still the principal weapon of the infantry, in 1597 its use was officially prohibited. All through the early years of the reign it is still to the fore: in the siege of Leith (1559–60) and in the first campaigns in France and Holland we hear much of it. But the arquebusier and 'caliver-man' were already arrayed alongside of the archer, as readers of the famous *Ballad of Lord Willoughby* will remember. In Leicester's army in the Netherlands (1585) the archers were in a minority: in the great host raised against the Spanish Armada the wealthier counties gave their contingents almost entirely in men furnished with firearms; it was only in some of the midland shires that the bowmen outnumbered the arquebusiers. As early as Elizabeth's second year (1559) it is worth noting that the picked trained-bands of London had all carried firearms, though the general levy did not. Archery was dying a natural death in the last fifteen years of the century, to the accompaniment of a furious controversy in print between professional soldiers, in which Sir Roger Williams was the main advocate of the arquebus and Sir John Smyth the defender of the old national weapon. Finally, in 1597, the Council took the last step, by ordering the Lords-Lieutenant no longer to accept as properly equipped any member of the county militia who came furnished with bow and arrows alone.

The controversy of Smyth and Williams on the relative merits of bow and arquebus is very amusing reading. Smyth insists on the superior rapidity of discharge of the archer, who (as he thinks) can 'loose off' about six times as fast as the man with a gun. He thinks that the latter is bad at hitting the mark, owing to the weight of his weapon, and liable to get muddled with the complicated management of match, powder-horn, bullets, wads, and ramrod. He had seen flurried musketeers forget to insert any bullet at all, or put no wad above the bullet, so that the latter rolled out of the muzzle when inclined a little downward. Powder was damped in rain, or on the other hand the soldier got his match too near his powder-horn and blew himself up! Altogether he would prefer to have a hundred good archers than three hundred arquebusiers. Williams replies that the defects above named only

apply to raw soldiers; trained men shoot fast and accurately, and do not make the clumsy mistakes of which Smyth speaks. He thinks that the archer is much more at the mercy of wind and weather than the musketeer. Rain loosens his cord and unsprings his bow; while a few days of cold or damp bivouacs so weaken his strength that only a few men in a score will retain their full vigour and 'shoot strong shoots.' On the other hand, the arquebus of a tired or weak man goes off perfectly well, if only he has kept his powder dry. Williams is also great on the moral effect of firearms: the smoke and fire are much more encouraging to one's own side and terrifying to the enemy than the silent fall of the arrow. However the merits of the controversy lay, the advocate of firearms was practically victorious, and the old national weapon was relegated to the lumber-room.

The cavalry, all through Elizabeth's reign, were gradually shedding some of their ponderous armour. By 1600, as pointed out in the Section on Costume, it was much lightened. Even the *tassets* were not always worn: Sir Philip Sidney's mortal wound at Zutphen is put down to the fact that he had refused to don them on the fatal morning. In fact, the horseman's armour was now intended to protect him from lance and sword, but did not purport to stop a musket ball, though some still fondly dreamed of 'pistol-proof' suits.

For military service within the kingdom Elizabeth relied on the shire-levies, now regularly called *militia*. They were frequently mustered for inspection of arms, and seem to have been fairly efficient. For the suppression of the 'Rising in the North' (1569) as many as 20,000 were embodied, and for protection against the Armada not less than 60,000 were called out under the Lords-Lieutenant (1588). For service in Ireland and on the Continent another method was adopted: 'colonels' were authorized to raise 'regiments,' and if volunteers were insufficient, men were 'pressed' from the shires to complete the *cadres*. The custom (as those who remember the dealings of Sir John Falstaff in Shakespeare will guess) was one which led to abuses. Each village tried to get its local ne'er-do-weels and loafers taken by the recruiting office, with the result that the material of a 'pressed' regiment left much to be desired.

Discipline seems to have often been in the same unsatisfactory state that we have noted in the reign of Henry VIII, and for the same reasons. It was perhaps at its worst in the unfortunate 'Journey of Portugal' in 1589.

The permanently embodied regiments wore uniforms, but there was no general dress for the whole army. We hear of corps in blue, red, white, and 'motley or any other sad green colour or russet.' The corps were at first very large: 2,000 or 3,000 strong, after the model of the Spanish *tercios*. But by the end of the reign the more manageable number of 1,200 or 1,500 was commoner. These bodies were divided into 'companies' (the earlier 'bands') from 100 to 150 strong: each was under a captain, and carried its own flag. The infantry was arrayed in a central mass of pikemen and halberdiers ('halberd' has superseded the older term 'bill'), with musketeers and caliver-men on the wings. Archers were still to be found mixed with the 'shot' during the first thirty years of the reign. When armies closed, the musketeers retired for cover behind the pikemen, with whom lay the final decision of battle. Cavalry always worked on the wings, and the 'demi-lance' with his light armour was more common than the fully-armed 'lance.' Many horsemen had begun to use pistols, like the German *Reiters*, a fact which did not add to their efficiency, as it tended to distract their attention from the all-importance of shock and impact in cavalry affairs.

Artillery, always growing in efficiency, was regularly used in battle no less than in sieges. But its slowness of discharge and its short range still prevented it from playing a decisive part in the majority of engagements. The calibres and patterns of gun were now very numerous and complicated, ranging from 'cannon' and 'demi-cannon' downwards, through sakers, culverins, &c., to small wall-pieces, some of which were breach-loaders of a primitive type. To meet the growth in the size and efficiency of cannon, military architecture had been forced to revolutionize itself. The old idea of the stronghold was gone; the Elizabethan nobility no longer tried to make their homes defensible, but reared splendid gabled mansions on the largest scale. There was not much military building in

England, owing to the general peace which the realm enjoyed, but something was done on the Scottish frontier and on points of the coast exposed to possible attack from hostile fleets. Henry VIII built a number of forts along the south coast, such as Camber, Hurst and Sandown castles, and the fortification of places like Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Berwick were often patched and improved. The new type of military architecture did not rely on the height of walls, for that would only give extra space on which artillery could play, but on their thickness, and on broad ditches and external earthworks, which were intended to keep the besieger far from the body of the place. Moreover, every new fort or town-wall was built in a way to give full opportunity for the employment of cannon, often with platforms suitable for mounting batteries of considerable strength. They were so placed as to command all possible lines of approach, and to allow of no 'dead angles.' But England suffered no serious attack from without during the whole century, and defensive architecture was somewhat neglected in consequence. The teaching of the great sieges of the Dutch War of Independence was known to our professional soldiers, but not much applied. The parsimonious Elizabeth was as loth to spend money on stone and mortar as on powder and shot, and England could show little to compare with the great fortresses of the Continent.

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These two last books must be used with caution, as they contain doubtful matter.
(See also the list on p. 115.)

IV

COSTUME, MILITARY AND CIVIL

1. Anglo-Saxon Period.

On the departure of the Romans, about the beginning of the fifth century, the Romanized Britons were in a higher state of civilization than their conquerors, the pagan Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, who, having raided the country during the fourth century, now obtained the mastery of Kent, and ultimately of the greater part of the island. We find from Old-English graves that straight-bladed, double- or single-edged iron swords [Pl. xliii, 6, 7] suspended from leather waist-belts, single-edged knives, and iron-headed, seven-foot spears [Pl. xliii, 1–5] were the weapons of offence of these warlike intruders, and round, wooden and hide-covered targets, with large convex iron umbos, those of defence [Pl. xliv, 1]. The two-handed axe [Pl. xliii, 10], re-introduced by the Danes, the stone hammer, the sling, and the bow and arrow [Pl. xliii, 9] were used by light-armed men of lower status. Helmets of leather, bronze, iron, or wood, with crests of boars on the ridge, protected the head, the hair of which was worn long. The mail-shirt, short-sleeved and short-skirted body armour, is depicted in illuminations as though it consisted of rings placed close together and flat upon a tunic [Pl. xliv, 2]. This is only one mode of representing interlinked chain-mail, among many used by artists from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries to indicate this same defence [Plates xliv–xlvi, *passim*]. For the armour, costume, manners and customs of the later Anglo-Saxons after their conversion there is ample and admirable evidence in their illuminated MSS. [Plates xliv, 1, 5; lxxi, 2]. Thus we gather that the royal habit consisted of a plain tunic girded round the

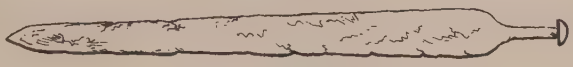
1. Anglo-Saxon lozenge-shaped spear-head. (*Found at Ash, near Sandwich.*)

2. A. S. leaf-shaped spear-head. (*Found in the Fairford Graves, Gloucestershire.*)

3. A.-S. ogee-shaped spear-head. (*Found near Brcdon Hill, Worcestershire.*)

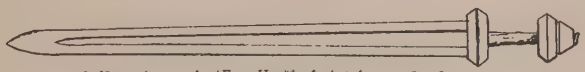
4. A.-S. barbed spear-head. (*Found at Sibertswold Down, Kent.*)

5. A.-S. four-sided spear-head. (*Fairford Graves.*)

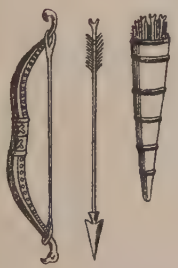


6. A.-S. sword. (*Fairford Graves.*)

7. A.-S. sword with bronze mountings of sheath. (*Found in A.-S. cemetery, Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire.*)



8. Norwegian sword. (*From Hewitt's Ancient Armour*, 1855, I. 33.)



9. A.-S. bow, arrow, and quiver. (*Cotton MS. Tib. C. vi.*)

10. Norwegian axe. (*From the Gökstad Grave-mounds.*)

11. A.-S. taper axe-head. (*From A.-S. cemetery at Osingell.*)

12. A.-S. bronze frame-helmet. (*Found on skeleton at Leckhampton Hill, near Cheltenham.*)

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waist, a mantle or short cloak fastened on the right shoulder by a *fibula*, the legs being clad in hose or long stockings, drawn up over short breeches, and swathed below the knee with bandages: this is the 'cross-gartering' still found in use in England in the seventeenth century, and worn at the present day by the peasants of the Apennines, and in the modified form of the Indian puttee by British soldiers in 1901. Great ladies wore a long gown with wide hanging sleeves, a super-tunic reaching down to the knees and usually girded with a swathe of cloth, a large mantle thrown over the left shoulder, and, if married or 'religious,' the invariable coverchief or hood [Pl. XLIX, 4]. Shirts and shifts of linen, with a long gown for women and a short, belted tunic for men, with shoes, and hat or cap, and cloaks for bad weather, was the ordinary dress for free persons. Slaves went poll-headed and barefoot.

The armour and costume of the Danish settlers in England developed generally in their new country into greater splendour than was affected by the Anglo-Saxons of the tenth century. The new-comers were expert bowmen, and famous for their skill in the use of the axe [Pl. XLIII, 10]. Many of their swords were made in France, and had richly ornamented hilts, and their most prized helmets came from Poitou. They would inscribe a favourite weapon with *runes*; often too they would give a special name to sword, spear, axe, or mailcoat. As with the Anglo-Saxons, slingers formed an important constituent in the Danish host. The shields of the Danes were circular, and painted with red and black and white and yellow, and even adorned with gold. Their civil costume, white linen, red, blue, or natural wool-coloured cloth, and furred mantles, was similar to that of the Anglo-Saxons, and, like them, they wore long hair in which they took great pride.

2. Norman and Early Plantagenet Periods.

The habits of the kings of the Norman dynasty differ little from those of earlier times, the tunic and mantle being worn with but slight variations of shape, the wide-sleeved gown known as the *dalmatic* [Pl. XLIV, 6] making its appearance

in the time of Henry I; thenceforward the regal habiliments have remained almost unchanged until the present day, and therefore will call for little further remark. The priceless monument known as The Bayeux Tapestry exhibits with great precision the armour of the end of the eleventh century [Pl. XLIV, 3, 4]. The principal bodily defence under the Norman dynasty was the ringed tunic of interlinked mail, then and long after called the *hauberk*. It was continued over the head in the form of a hood, above which was worn a pointed helmet with a nasal. This *hauberk* was the improved successor of the *war-byrnie*, or *battle-shirt*, of later Anglo-Saxon times. It perhaps came to us from the East, and had its origin in remote antiquity. It is possible that some of the varieties of representation in the Tapestry and in illuminated MSS. indicate not mail, but quilted defences. In the twelfth century *chausses* of mail began to be used. The hair of the English was still worn very long, the Normans being distinguished in the stitch-work of the Tapestry by their close-shaven faces and short hair, which makes their heads look as though shaven high up at the back. Their shields were of the kite shape, a form derived from the Frankish and Byzantine shield, and in some cases were decorated with fanciful devices. The principal weapons used on both sides at Hastings were the broad-bladed sword, the mace, the seven-foot spear or lance; the English alone used the two-handed Danish axe, a weapon that could cut off a horse's head or a man's leg at a single blow [Plates XLIII, 10; XLIV, 2]. Like the Danes, the Normans were expert bowmen, and their archery contributed largely to the victory at Hastings [Pl. XLIV, 3]. There were also men with stone axes and slingers in the opposing hosts at that battle. The armour and weapons of this time continued with little change till the close of the twelfth century, when the crossbow and quarrel appeared and remained in use until its final extinction by firearms. The trigger of the crossbow was the distant ancestor of the elaborate mechanisms of the seventeenth-century firelocks.

After the Conquest the costume of the nobility rapidly increased in extravagance, with fur-lined mantles, and upper

1. Anglo-Saxon soldier.
(*Cott. MS. Tib. c. vi.*)

2. English axe-man, 1066.
(*Bayeux Tapestry.*)

3. Norman archer, 1066.
(*Bayeux Tapestry.*)

4. Norman horse-man, 1066.
(*Bayeux Tapestry.*)

5. King Edgar. (*Cott. MS. Vesp.* A. viii.)

6. Effigy of Richard I.
(*Fontevrault Abbey.*)

7. Effigy of King John.
(*Worc. Cath.*)

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and under tunics. Sleeves, hair and beard all reached to a great length in the time of Rufus. Peak-toed boots and caps of the Phrygian form were worn, and the general costliness of dress justly excited the anger of the monkish historians. The ladies of the time wore tight gowns with very long sleeves pendent from the wrists, and often tied up into knots, long trailing skirts, and silk-broidered hair [Plates XLIX, 5; LVIII, 20]. The dress of the middle classes consisted of long and short tunics, mantles, *chausses*, or swathings, and short boots. The husbandmen favoured much the same garb, but of the plainest character; they wore flat-brimmed hats, or close-fitting round or flat skull-caps, and often went barefoot.

The monumental effigy at Fontevraud of Henry II and that of his son Cœur de Lion [Pl. XLIV, 6] have special value as showing the regal costume of the time, which reached to the feet and was brilliant in its decorations. A similar fashion may be seen in the effigies of the queens of Henry II [Pl. XLIX, 6] and of John, interred in the same abbey church, and of Richard I's queen, Berengaria, now in the cathedral of Le Mans. The figure of King John at Worcester, the earliest contemporary monumental effigy of an English monarch in this country, is shown in the usual royal vestments, but they are somewhat shorter, in the mode then established. Only slight modifications in the now accepted regal habits are observable in the effigies of Henry III, Edward II, Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV and Henry VII.

We know from seals, sculptures, and illuminated MSS. that the usual military harness of a gentleman in the last years of the twelfth century consisted of a *gambeson* or quilted body-garment of leather or linen, stuffed with wool, tow, or rags, and above it a long-sleeved hauberk with its attached hood drawn over the head and covering the mouth [cp. Pl. LX, 4]. The mail sleeves ended in mittens with separate receptacles for the thumbs, and a hole in the palm through which the hands could be passed so that the mittens might hang from the wrists when the bare hand had to be used. The hauberk was kept in place by straps interlaced in the mail round the brows and the wrists [cp. Pl. LX, 4], the head being further protected by a skull-cap of

iron worn under the hood, which usually had a flapped opening tied or buckled up over the ear [Pl. LII, 1], and a thick woollen coif was worn to relieve the pressure of the mail hood and cap. Mail *chausses* were worn on the legs, tightened by straps below the knees [cp. Pl. LX, 4]; the heels were furnished with prick-spurs, and a surcoat reaching to just below the knee was confined round the waist by a strap (*cingulum*). A long and heavy sword was suspended from a broad transverse belt, in its turn supported behind by an attachment to the *cingulum*, and usually fastened to the scabbard in later times in a very curious and complicated way. On the left arm the knight bore a great heater-shaped shield, curved more or less to better cover and protect the body, fastened to the arm by *enarmes*, or leather loops, and suspended by a *guige* that passed over the right shoulder [cp. Pl. LX, 4]. Occasionally the *martel de fer*, a combined hammer and pick, was carried, in conjunction with a circular targe, and was used with great efficacy for breaking up the coats of mail and other defences, and thus making fatal openings for sword and lance. It is noteworthy that almost throughout the twelfth century the skirts of the tunic, long or short, appear below the hauberk, and not above it: the first and second seals of Cœur de Lion exhibit examples [Pl. LIII, 12]. The latter also gives an early instance of the cylindrical flat-topped helm, with the usual wooden or leather fan-cresting of the period. The seal of John [Pl. LIII, 13] shows him completely clad in mail, with a hood covering the mouth and drawn up to a rounded iron head-piece, and with a tunic, or, as it had now become, a surcoat, worn over the hauberk. This important change was of widespread introduction in the first years of the thirteenth century, and was introduced, not so much to modify the heat of the sun's rays on the mail in Eastern climes, though that was one of its uses, as to protect the hauberk from wet and rust, to 'were hitte fro the wete,' in damp northern regions. The twelfth-century head-piece, at first pointed or cone-shaped, with a nasal [Pl. XLIV, 2–4], was changed later into a flat or round-topped iron cap, with a band below the chin, as may be seen in one of the earliest of the effigies in the Temple church, that formerly

1. Brass of Sir John de Creke, *c.* 1325. (*Westley Waterless, Cambridgeshire.*)

2. Brass of Ralph, Lord Stafford, 1347. (*Elsyng, Norfolk.*)

3. Brass of John Cray, Esq., *c.* 1390. (*Chinnor, Oxon.*)

4. Brass of Sir Geo. Felbrigge, 1400. (*Playford, Suffolk.*)

5. Brass of . . . D'Eresby, *c.* 1410. (*Spilsby, Lincolnshire.*)

6. Brass of Sir John Lysle, *c.* 1420. (*Thruxton, Hants.*)

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attributed to Geoffrey de Mandeville, who died in 1144 [Pl. LII, 2]. Finally, the flat-topped cylindrical helm, with a hinged *aventaille*, made its appearance about 1250, and lasted till the end of the century [Pl. LII, 3]. Prick-spurs [e. g. Pl. LIII, 12, 13] were worn until the middle of the fourteenth century.

With the close of the twelfth and the opening of the thirteenth century a new and wide field of inquiry is entered upon, and information regarding armour and costume may be best derived, first from the monumental effigies, to which later on the brasses must be added: the stony texts and brazen records which adorn English churches in such profusion, and illustrate the history of the country with a fullness unexampled elsewhere in Europe. To these authorities are added the Great Seals of the kings and the signets of minor personages, and, naturally, the precise and detailed and dated evidence of the illuminated MSS. Such will be the copious sources of information until the time of Henry VIII, when the pencil of Holbein and his successors place the living originals before us.

The ring mail-coat of the twelfth century endured not only throughout the thirteenth, but lingered for about twenty years into the fourteenth, the first changes being the introduction of the separate mail hood [Pl. LX, 6], of small pieces of plate or *cuir-bouilli* at the knees and elbows, of slight modifications in form and addition in length to the surcoat, and such alterations in the details of the sword-belt as fashion dictated. It may be noted that the knee, being the most exposed part of a horseman, was the first portion of the body to receive plate. The *ailettes* [Pl. LX, 6], a picturesque addition to the harness of this period, appear to have been mere flimsy additions in *cuir-bouilli*, or parchment on wire frames, for the display of heraldry. They were painted with armorials, and the numerous examples on continental brasses clearly show that they had no significance whatever as items of defence. The cross-legged attitude of many effigies of the last half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century was a peculiar convention of English sculpture, and bore no reference whatever to the Crusades.

The general civil costume of men in the upper classes during

the thirteenth century consisted of an under-tunic with tight, buttoned sleeves, a short upper-tunic, or *gardecors*, sometimes spoken of as a *ciclaton* or *cyclas*, gown, hood, and mantle of rich stuff, short boots or shoes, with long toes, and gloves. Fur was much used for linings. The hood, or a variety of it, a white coif tied under the chin, was a constant feature of men's dress. The costume of a youth is given in Plate XLVIII, 1. He wears a tunic, gathered in at the waist, apparently by a girdle; a tippet over the shoulders, hosen, and rather high boots. The new-fashioned clothes were now shaped to the body, not cut by simple gore and length as before.

The costume of ladies of the upper classes during the same period consisted of a close gown, super-tunic, and mantle of great fullness; and the gorget, or wimple, was generally worn by married gentlewomen or nuns. The hair was confined in a variety of ways by head-dresses, which usually included a caul or net, and was covered with the veil; the whole presenting a 'confection' of great elegance, that is well exemplified by the effigy in Westminster Abbey of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster [Pl. L, 1]. Of simpler form and detail, and plainer materials, were the habits of less exalted ladies. The wimple was at first never worn without the veil; in the fourteenth century it is frequently seen alone, or the head-dress is formed by pinning up the veil on either side of the face. The lower orders of both sexes wore tunics, or smocks, and plain gowns and mantles of various coarse cloths, known as *russet*, *birrus*, *cordetum*, and *sarcilis*.

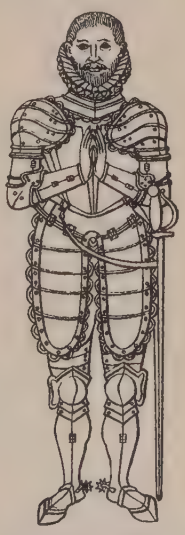
With the accession of Edward I in 1272 came an abatement in the richness of apparel, and it is probable that, save on the day of his coronation, the great monarch was never in his lifetime so gorgeously clothed as he was when he was placed in his coffin. The plainness of the king's habit was naturally followed by the courtiers, but the simple dress shown in the conventional effigy of Queen Eleanor at Westminster by no means illustrates that of the ladies of her time, who were much rebuked, alike by the priest and by the satirist, for their pride and extravagance, for their kirtles or their gowns, 'lacis moult estreitement,' their naked necks and horned head-dresses.

1. Brass of Sir John Barnard, 1451. (*Iselham, Cambs.*)

2. & 3. Effigy of Rich. Beauchamp, E. of Warwick; *d.* 1439. Date of armour, *c.* 1454. (*St. Mary's, Warwick.*)

4. Brass of Thos. Peyton, Esq., 1484. *Leonard Barnard del.* (*Iselham, Cambs.*)

5. Suit of fluted armour, *temp.* Hen. VIII. (*Meyrick Collection.*)



6. Brass of Humphrey Brewster, Esq., 1593. (*Wrentham, Suffolk.*)

The most conspicuous garment of the knight in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is of course the surcoat, which in later times was usually embroidered or painted with the wearer's arms. As has already been stated, the surcoat, at first falling only to the knees [Pl. LX, 4], became longer in the latter years of the thirteenth century [Pl. LXI, 1], and at the end of the century reached such a length that men called upon suddenly to fight on foot sometimes got their legs entangled in its ample folds, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. The skirt was accordingly evenly reduced all round [Pl. LX, 6], but even this amount of drapery was found to be an inconvenience. A new and strange garment was therefore formed by cutting away the whole of the front of the surcoat up to the middle of the thighs, slitting it up the sides to the hips, taking it in at the body, and lacing it on the right side [Pl. XLV, 1]. Thus was formed the *military cyclas*, which appears to have been a purely English invention. It did not long find favour; the useless, flapping hinder part was an incumbrance, and it does not appear on more than twenty monumental effigies between 1321 and 1346. As early as 1340 this tail was cut off the cyclas [Pl. XLV, 2]; next the full skirt disappeared, and what remained of the surcoat was fitted tightly to the body, the lower edges of the garment thus formed were 'quainted' or dagged, it was laced up at the side, and the *jupon* made its appearance [Pl. XLV, 3, 4]. These six stages are remarkable features in the gradual change of fashion in the surcoat from long and loose to short and tight within two hundred years.

After the death of Edward I, though regal state-robes remained unaltered, extravagance reached to a great height in the garments of his successor and of the nobility. New fopperies were introduced from France by unworthy favourites like the profligate Gaveston, or the Despensers, or invented by them, and eagerly adopted by the king and the courtiers; and although the financial condition of the country was not consonant with a like display among the middle and lower classes, a luxurious fashion was now set in England which became still more ostentatious and eccentric in the following reign. The ordinary dress of the commonalty at this time is shown in Plate XLVIII, 2.

The costume of the ladies of the time of Edward II underwent no particular change: the wimple continued, but many varieties of head-dress were introduced [e. g. Pl. L, 2]. It is during this reign that we see the rise of a special habit for legal dignitaries, the semi-clerical character of which betrays its origin: the lawyer was ceasing to be necessarily a churchman.

The military costume of the fourteenth century is, in point of artistic grace, more attractive to the student of armour than that of any other period. The growing desire for more splendid and less cumbrous defences led to the employment of several varieties of lighter armour, among which were the peculiar armour known as 'banded' [Pl. XLV, 1], the construction of which has baffled antiquaries, *pourpoint*, studded or bezanted defence [Pl. LIII, 11], *jazerine*, scales, and *cuir-bouilli*. The use of these protections, combined with plate, brought about in the course of a hundred years the gradual extinction of mail, save as an auxiliary to plate, and produced a wonderful and interesting variety in armour. Of these fascinating panoplies, unfortunately only a score of helms and helmets and a few isolated pieces of plate have survived to our day: a *coute*, a *poleyn*, a cuff of a gauntlet, perchance a fragment of *jazerine* or a portion of a *camail*. The brass [Pl. XLV, 1] of Sir John de Creke (*c.* 1325) shows him in a quilted *gambeson*, over which is a short-sleeved hauberk of banded mail, with the upper arm strengthened by half-plates or *demi-brassarts*; over the mail in succession are a *habergeon* of some stuff, with a scalloped edge, a *haketon* of either *pourpoint* or studded defence, and a *cyclas*. Over the mail hood, which is apparently, as in the old style, continuous with the hauberk, a fluted bascinet, with an ornamental coronal or *prente*, is worn. The fore-arm is further protected by *vambraces* or *avant-bras*, and lion-faced discs and *coutes* defend the shoulders and elbows respectively. He has mail *chausses*, reinforced with *demi-jambs*; while *genouillères* or *poleyns* defend the knees, and *demi-sollerets* the outer sides of the feet. A small shield is borne on the left arm, and the rowelled spurs were becoming established. This is an elaborate and highly curious military costume of many items, and it well exemplifies the rapidity with which the time-honoured panoply of the thirteenth

1. Effigy of Sir Denner Strutt, 1641. (*Warley, Essex.*)

2. English archer, 15th cent. (*Cotton MS. Julius, E. iv.*)

3. Cross-bow man, 15th cent. (*Cotton MS. Julius, E. iv.*)

4. Hand-gun man, 15th cent. (*Burney MS., 169, fol. 127.*)

5. English archer, 1544. (*Contemporary picture of Hen. VIII's departure from Calais.*)

6. English halberdier, 1544. (*Ibid.*)

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century gave way before the exigencies of extravagant fashion and the advancing requirements of military men. No doubt the man also wore beneath the four body-garments at least the leather *curie*, the *cuera* of the Spaniards, to keep off the pressure of the plate. In their hurry for change the knights rushed from one extreme to another. The sword-belts, the changes and details of which throughout the Middle Ages are alone sufficient to form a volume of much artistic interest, were now in a similar state of transition; they were generally attached to the scabbards by metal *lockets*. The beautiful alabaster effigy of John of Eltham (1334), in Westminster Abbey, exhibits him in armour much more advanced than that of De Creke. He wears the *hauberk*, *haketon*, and *cyclas*, but no *gambeson* or *habergeon*, and has old-fashioned prick-spurs. His bascinet is fitted with its camail, and the transverse sword-belt has progressed in style. A few years later the *misericorde* [Pl. XLV, 3] was introduced, and from this time forward it is never lost sight of as an essential weapon of a knight. This was a long, narrow-bladed dagger used to slip between or under the plates of armour, or through the *ocularia* (vizor-holes). The effigy of Sir John de Lyons (1346) at Warkworth, in Northamptonshire, shows slight further changes; the *gambeson*, a sleeved *haketon*, and a *cyclas* are worn. It is at this time that the *cyclas* vanishes, as explained above, by the simple process of cutting the back skirt level with the front. The skirted *jupon* thus formed is well illustrated in the small figures of Lord Stafford [Pl. XLV, 2] and Lord Hastings on the brass of Sir Hugh de Hastings (1347) at Elsing, in Norfolk. From this tight-fitting and short-skirted transitional body-garment to the *jupon* proper was but a step; and no doubt all the three docked forms of the surcoat, the *cyclas*, the tailless *cyclas* (or skirted *jupon*), and the *jupon*, were worn on the glorious field of Cressy in 1346. The shield, carried by knights from time immemorial and displayed on their recumbent effigies, ceased to appear soon after the middle of the century, and occurs last in the brass of William de Aldeburgh (*c.* 1360). The *jupon*, which had its origin in civil dress, is first seen as a military garment about 1340, over-

lapping, in the usual way, for a few years the disappearing *cyclas* and skirted *jupon*. Specially associated with it is the *baudric* or horizontal belt worn across the hips [Pl. XLV, 3]. This was no longer sustained at the back by the ancient subsidiary *cingulum* or waist-belt, which now passes away with the longer surcoats it girded, but apparently was looped up with hooks at the back or sewn to the *jupon*. As a civil belt it was in being as early as 1335, the *anelace*, a heavy, broad-bladed, sharp-pointed, double-edged knife, about two feet long in all, that appears frequently in the brasses of civilians, being slung from it; in its military capacity it supported the sword, which was fastened close up to it, and the *misericorde*. The change was not popular, and the transverse belts well held their ground until the middle of the century, when the girdler's art reached its culminating point. Like the surcoat and the *cyclas*, the *jupon* had its slight accidents of shape, finally taking the typical form well shown by the latten effigy (1376) of the Black Prince at Canterbury, and by hundreds of routine alabaster and stone effigies and brasses of the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth century throughout the kingdom [Pl. XLV, 3]. During this half-century the knightly equipment consisted of a pointed bascinet with an attached *camail*; articulated plates on the shoulders; *arrière-bras* and *avant-bras* (or *rerebraces* and *vambraces*) of plate, for the upper and lower arms respectively; and cuffed gauntlets, with *gadlings* on the knuckles; while *cuisses*, *jambs*, and articulated *sollerets*, all of plate, protected the legs and feet, which were furnished with rowelled spurs. The body was clad in a mail hauberk, of which a small portion appeared below the *quainted* edge of the *jupon*, the latter often being embellished with the arms of the wearer on back and front. The emblazoned *jupon* was in fact the forerunner of the military *tabard*. Over all was clasped the elaborate baudric, with its manifold variety of decorations, sustaining the sword and *misericorde*. This was a beautiful and graceful equipment, but the delicacy of the details are only to be realized by a close study of effigies and illuminated MSS. [Pl. XLV, 3, 4]. During the fourteenth century the helm [Pl. LII, 4] was worn in battle and tourney

1. Civil Costume, *c.* 1200. (*Sloane MSS.* 1975.)

2. Civil Costume, *temp.* Ed. II. (*Royal MS.* 14. E. 3.)

3. Effigy of Wm. of Hatfield, second son of Ed. III. (*York Minster.*)

4. Knight in Civil Costume, *temp.* Rich. II. (*Harl. Collection*, 1319.)

5. Gentleman in Civil Costume, early 15th cent. (*Royal MS.* 15. D. 3.)

6. Richard III when Duke of Gloucester. (*Royal MS.* 15. E. 4.)

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over the Assyrian-like bascinet and *camail*, when the latter head-piece was not furnished with a vizor. It is clear from the moderate arch of its bottom curve, and from seals and illuminations, that this fourteenth-century helm did not rest on the shoulders, as did later fifteenth-century helms, but was probably wadded inside so that it might fit closely to the bascinet. It was secured to the front of the cuirass by a chain, and may have been also fastened to the back of the cuirass by a strap. Bascinets with a beak-shaped vizor appeared in the last quarter of the century, and some half-dozen actual examples have been preserved [Pl. LII, 5].

The extravagance in the civil costume of the nobility, that originated, as we have seen, in the court of Edward II, rapidly increased and spread during the reign of Edward III [Pl. XLVIII, 3]. The long gowns, plain hoods, and tunics of male attire now gave place to the short, tight-fitting, often richly embroidered *cote*, buttoned down the front, with sleeves also closely buttoned from the elbow to the wrist, and garnished with long pendent slips, called tippets, that hung from the shoulder. The 'gay cote graceless' was girt round the waist by the *baudric*, from which the *anelace* and *gypcière* were suspended. A mantle, forming a cape on the breast, was thrown back over the left shoulder, and hung in long folds behind, all the edges being *slittered* or *dagged*. In the absence of the mantle, a hood, or *capuchon*, of which there were many shapes, was in use: it was often buttoned close up to the chin in front, and had a long *liripipe* or streamer hanging behind. Hosen were worn, and short, sharp-pointed boots or shoes, elegantly diapered with Gothic patterns. In this, as in other reigns, sumptuary laws were passed with the object of regulating luxury in dress according to the rank or wealth of the wearer, but then, as always, were treated with absolute disregard. During Edward's long reign the costume of the ladies also underwent great change. Their garments were always of great richness, and one variety blended with another to such an extent that it is not easy to disentangle them. Long tight-sleeved gowns appear, often embroidered with armorial bearings, and having long pendent streamers hanging from the upper arm,

as in the dress of men. We find also shorter kirtles, the tight sleeves of which were extended so as to cover the backs of the hands, combined with a close upper tunic. Another notable and later costume was composed of the kirtle with its girdle, the sideless garment known as the *cote-hardi*, and the mantle fastened with cords, habits that endured for nearly two hundred years [Plates L, 3, 5; LXI, 2]. The head-dresses were of great variety, the main characteristic being that the hair was braided and somewhat closely dressed with kerchiefs and frets of gold network. The ancient wimple was gradually passing away, and, after 1377, in harmony with the fopperies of Richard II's time, various extravagant kinds of head-gear appeared. The male dress of the lower orders consisted of short tunics, hoods, and hosen, the female dress of kirtles and upper tunics. Mourning habits in the form of long black mantles were introduced early in the reign of Edward III.

Luxury and extravagance in dress reached a climax during the reign of Richard II: the example set by the king and the court was imitated by all classes to such an extent that contemporary writers declared that it was impossible to distinguish rank from rank or rich from poor. The rhyming literature of the period may now be added to the evidence of the monuments and the MSS., and the pages of Chaucer vividly describe the dresses of all classes. The king of course outshone the courtiers in his coats embroidered with precious stones and various devices. His portrait in Westminster Abbey shows him in a robe decorated with his initial and roses, and in the Wilton House diptych his mantle is embroidered all over with his badge of the White Hart [Pl. LXXXII].

In military equipment there was a steady continuance of the change which, starting from the accession of Edward II in 1327, had settled into the *camail* and *bascinet* type as shown in the effigy of the Black Prince [cp. Pl. XLV, 1–4]. A loose *jupon*, introduced from Burgundy, was frequently worn, but does not appear in monumental effigies. It is here to be noted that in the literature of the day old terms for defences of mail were frequently used in speaking of portions of armour of plate or of *cuir-bouilli* (then much employed), and that fashions in armour

1. Civil Costume, *temp.* Hen. VII. (*Harl. MS.* 4939.)

2. Portrait of Thos., E. of Surrey, by Holbein, or Stretes, *temp.* Hen. VIII. (*At Hampton Court.*)

3. Portrait of Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, *temp.* Eliz. (*At Woburn Abbey.*)

4. Anglo-Saxon lady. (*From a Benedictional of* 10th *cent.*)

5. Lady of Norman Period. (*Coll. MS. Nero* C. iv.)

6. Effigy of Eleanor, Q. of Hen. II. (*At Fontevrault Abbey.*)

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constantly overlapped. This was still more so in civil costume, and causes in both cases a continual difficulty in presenting an absolutely consecutive picture.

It is clearly to be gathered that the nobility and upper classes continued to wear the short *jupon*, often party-coloured, with narrow waist-belt and tight sleeves, as well as the new-fashioned looser body-garment with full-hanging, slittered sleeves, one variety of which had skirts reaching to the ground. Beneath these was the under-tunic, with its long tight sleeves and cuffs spreading over the backs of the hands. The hosen were not in pairs, but party-coloured like the *jupons*, and at one time the long toes of fashionable shoes were fastened to the knees by light chains. Over all men of rank wore in full dress a great full-sleeved gown, trailing on the ground, with a high collar fitting tight under the chin and covering the ears [Pl. XLVIII, 4]. In fact, from the back view it was not easy to distinguish a man thus clad from a woman. Every edge of this garment was deeply *slittered* or cut into fantastic shapes, called 'cut-work.' Hoods were worn on horseback, and 'cut-work,' close, or loose caps, turned up all round and ornamented with a single feather in front [Pl. LI, 7]. The most characteristic caps of this time were those supposed to have been formed out of the hood whose back-piece was bound round the head, with a broad piece gathered into the top, the full neck-piece being divided into strips in fan-fashion, with the edges *slittered* or jagged, such divided pieces either falling about in any direction, or carefully laid together on one side, while the long *liripipe* hung from the band and reached almost to the ground. This queer and characteristic head-gear is very typical of the period, and long found favour [Pl. LI, 9]. Similar forms of this costume were in use by all classes, the long *pokes*, or bag-pipe shaped sleeves, and short *jupons* being the distinguishing peculiarities of the time. The dress of the women of the upper classes was no less splendid and fantastic. It comprised the kirtle, with its narrow girdle for the *gypcière*, the plain or fur-faced *cote-hardi*, and the mantle embroidered with heraldry, mottoes, or devices. The gathering of the hair into enriched cauls, over which was worn a chaplet, a coronet, or a veil, was the precursor of the more splendid tiring of

like character that appears in the early years of the fifteenth century. The delightful descriptions in Chaucer's *Rhime of Sir Topas* and *Canterbury Tales*, and in Langland's *Piers Plowman's Visions*, of the costume of various classes leave nothing to be added to the present attempt.

3. York and Lancaster Period.

Soon after the establishment of the House of Lancaster, in the person of Henry IV, in 1399, attention was again directed to extravagance in attire by the re-enaction of the sumptuary edicts of earlier times, but again to little purpose. Judging from the effigy of the king at Canterbury, his own royal dress well accorded with the richness of the general fashion in civil garb. With regard to armour, the gradual swallowing up of mail by plate continued, and within ten years of the beginning of the fifteenth century the *camail* had been reinforced by a high gorget of plate [Pl. xlv, 5], of the same form as the old mail protection, of which latter a few links at first appeared below the edge of the new steel defence. Extended articulated shoulder-pieces [Pl. xlv, 5], often with distinct *pallets* [Pl. xlv, 6], now defend the *vif de l'auberc*—known in later times as the *défaut de la cuirasse*—at the armpits, and mail appears only below the *taces* or *tassets* which, with the breastplate and back-piece, a true 'pair of plates,' have taken the place of the *jupon*, and now protect the body. The *taces* were overlapping hip-bands, generally hinged on the left side and buckled on the right. They overlapped either upwards [Pl. xlvi, 2, 3] or downwards [Pl. xlv, 5]. The horizontal *baudric* is now clean gone, and a narrow transverse belt sustains the sword and *misericorde* [Pl. xlv, 6]. A few years later the tassets have increased in number, and mail is no longer visible. The man is now 'locked up in steel,' and the change from mail to plate in a hundred years has been complete and remarkable. During the reign of Henry V the decorated *orle* or wreath for diminishing the pressure of the helm is to be observed round the *bascinets* [Pl. lii, 6], and small *tuilles* begin to appear, hung in front from the lowest *tasset* [Pl. liii, 8]. These were the forerunners

1. Effigy of Aveline, Countess of Lanc.; *d.* 1273. (*Westm. Abbey.*)

2. Brass of Lady Northwode, *c.* 1330. (*Minster, Isle of Sheppey.*)

3. Effigy of Blanche de la Tour, daughter of Ed. III; *d.* 1340. (*Westm. Abbey.*)

4. Brass of lady of Clopton family, *c.* 1435. (*Long Melford, Suffolk.*)

5. Brass of Lady Curson, 1471. (*Belaugh, Norfolk.*)

6. Female costume, *temp.* Hen. VII. (*Harl. MS.*, 4425.)

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of the larger *tuilles* [Pl. XLVI, 1–4] which were well established, together with the *cuirasse à emboîtement*, when Henry VI had been twenty years on the throne. The larger hanging *tuilles* took the place of the lowest hoop of the tassets, and by falling closer to the thigh prevented a weapon from getting under the tassets. The *cuirasse à emboîtement* was formed of two portions, which respectively covered the chest and the midriff; the lower half, known as the *demi-placcate*, overlapped the upper, and was connected with it by a strap or a sliding rivet, so that the body could be bent with comparative ease. The gilt latten effigy at Warwick of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439 [Pl. XLVI, 2, 3], with its reinforced shoulder guards—it was the period *par excellence* of reinforcements—and great left elbow-piece is an admirable illustration. The *bascinets* of this time, which gradually approached in form to the close *armets* [Pl. LII, 10], and in a less degree to the *salades* [Pl. LII, 11] or open helmets of the middle of the century, rarely had vizors; and the earlier ones were decorated at the apex by a single feather stuck in a tube. The form of the helms, with their *panaches* or *pennaches* [Pl. LII, 8], crests, wreaths, and mantlings [Pl. LII, 7], is well ascertained from those shown beneath the heads of effigies and brasses. Later fifteenth-century helms were deeply curved at the bottom, so as to fit closely down to the shoulders, and were firmly fixed to both chest and back [Pl. LIII, A]. For knights, archers, and other soldiers alike *jazerine* continued in use for lighter adjuncts of armour, as also did *brigandine*, which was its reverse in construction, having the metal splints inside instead of outside the material. In the latter part of the century the quilted *jack* appeared, often stuffed with mail. This was the legitimate ancestor of the Elizabethan *jack* with steel plates sewn into it: the 'stiel cotte' of the Musters of Armada times. An interesting point in the consideration of armour is the accuracy with which the smallest details of the actual remains, naturally increasing in number as we come later, are corroborated by historical evidence and faithful monuments in village churches. It is evident that *tilting* armour began to be differentiated from *hosting* array

soon after the beginning of the fifteenth century. During the reign of Edward IV the high plate gorget [Pl. XLV, 5] gave way to the moderate standard of mail [Plates XLVI, 1; LIII, 6] or of plate [Pl. LII, 9], and the vizored *salade*, with its *mentonnière*, or more properly *bavier* [Pl. LII, 11] came in. The Yorkist Collar of Suns and Roses, with the pendent badges of the different royal houses such as York, March, and later Beaufort and Tudor, now appeared beside the official Lancastrian Collar of SS. [Pl. XLVI, 1], which had its unknown origin when Henry of Lancaster was a boy. Again pressing forward, we shortly meet with representations of an oft-quoted garment, the tabard [Pl. LX, 5] (already spoken of as a descendant of the military jupon), with its fourfold picture of arms on front, back, and flap-sleeves. It first appeared late in the reign of Henry V, the sleeves or wings being then mere 'flappers,' but is rarely seen in monuments before the end of the fifteenth century. The standards of mail [Plates XLVI, 1; LIII, 6], globular breastplates [Pl. XLVI, 1–3], great channelled shoulder-guards [Plates XLVI, 4; LIII, 6], and reinforcing pieces [Pl. XLVI, 1, 4], upright neck-guards [Pl. LIII, 7], very large elbow-pieces [Pl. XLVI, 1, 4], long pointed *tuilles* and *sollerets* [Pl. XLVI, 4], vizored *armets*, the lower part of which opened out on hinges [Pl. LII, 10], and *salades* with *baviers* fixed to the breastplate [Pl. LII, 11], long-necked spurs, and ponderous swords hung directly in front [Pl. XLVI, 4], are characteristic features of armour of the middle and latter part of the century.

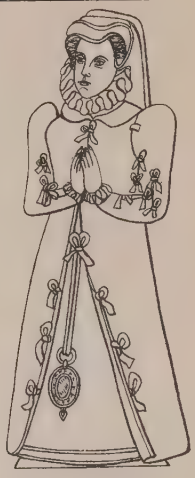
Almost concurrent with the rise and course of the change from mail to plate was the origin and gradually increasing employment of gunpowder, the explosive itself, and its manner of use, deriving indirectly from the Greek Fire of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the later heavy plate was perhaps designed not only for the tournament, but also as a protection against 'the new-fangled bullets' rather than against pikes, bills, or arrows. The first recorded mention of cannon is in 1326, and the use both of powder and of cannons is well established by documentary evidence of the second quarter of the fourteenth century (see p. 72). Side by side, therefore, with the increase of plate, arose cannon which cast *quarrels* and stone balls, and at the end of the fifteenth century the

1. Brass of Matilda Grene, widow, 1462. (*Green's Norton, N'hants.*)

2 *a*.

2 *b*.

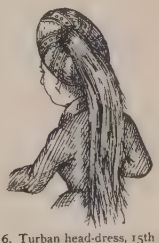
2 *a*, *b*. From effigy of Lady de Thorpe, *c*. 1420. (*Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk.*)



3. Brass of Ann Rede, 1577. (*St. Margaret's, Norwich.*)

4. Horned head-dress, 15th cent. (*Royal MS.*, 15. E. 47.)

5. Heart-shaped head-dress, 15th cent. (*Froissart, Harl. MS.*, 4379 80.)



6. Turban head-dress, 15th cent. (*Harl. Collect.*, 2278.)

7. Hat of nobleman, 14th cent. (*Add. MSS.*, 12,228.)

8. Steeple-cap, 15th cent. (*Froissart, Harl. MS.*, 4379-80.)

9. Hat of gentleman, 14th cent. (*Royal MS.*, 15. D. 1.)

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hand-guns [Pl. XLVII, 4] began, little by little, to win the upper hand and break up the magnificent suits of steel which the armourers had conceived with so much skill. The new weapons slowly changed the art of war, and eventually, after the lapse of two hundred years, caused armour to be entirely abandoned save as a glistering item of parade. In the meantime the heavy suits, unaffected by the new artillery, for they were now designed for tilting, not for warfare, reached their climax of perfection, the armourers being encouraged in their efforts during the early years of the sixteenth century by the friendly rivalry of three chivalrous and sumptuous monarchs, Henry VIII, Maximilian, and Francis I. *Heavy* armour, in its turn, then gradually declined.

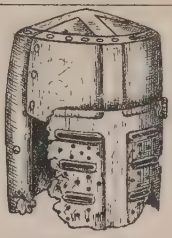
Returning to civil dress from the beginning of the fifteenth century, many changes took place during the hundred years now to be touched upon. In spite of sumptuary edicts regulating the length of gowns and sleeves, and the quantities of material to be used, the habits of men in the upper classes abated but little in their excess. Sweeping fur-trimmed gowns, with long hanging sleeves, and capacious tippets with superabundance of cloth, and the peculiar *slittered* caps, continued in vogue. *Baudrics* of bells, worn transversely from the shoulder to the knee [Pl. XLVIII, 5], and gay girdles are notable items of festival apparel in the time of Henry IV and Henry V. The reign of Henry VI brought with it a mixed costume, in which were included very short tight jackets, pleated down the back, and girded round the waist, where the dagger hung in front, and having sleeves very full at the shoulders [Pl. XLVIII, 6]. We find also a long low-necked gown, with full hanging sleeves; tight hosen; square-toed shoes, or very long sharp-toed boots and shoes [Pl. XLVIII, 6]. The head-gear comprised the *abacot* with its feather in front, small close caps with short pendent bands, tasselled or fringed, and with a feather behind; and steeple-shaped or sugar-loaf felt hats, with brims flat, or turned up in various ways, and upright side-feathers. Towards the end of the century a simpler style of male attire began to be affected, and the short gowns and sober apparel of the middle classes in the reign of Henry VII had their origin in the last years of Edward IV. The wardrobe accounts of Richard III indicate

how great a love of fine clothing pervaded the mind of this restless and ambitious spirit.

With regard to the habits of women during the fifteenth century, the kirtle with its girdle, the *cote-hardi*, and the long mantle or surcoat fastened with cords across the chest—*la surcote overte*—continued in favour [Pl. L, 5], the latter lasting indeed until far into the sixteenth century. But in the time of Henry VI full gowns with long and capacious sleeves, and open turned-over collars, sometimes showing the square-cut under-vest, with very short, tightly girded waists, came into fashion [Pl. L, 4]. With the former costume the extravagant head-dresses continued. The hair was arranged in cauls to a great width on either side of the face, and surmounted by a coronet, or a chaplet, with precisely the same details as the military orles; over this a veil was cast, but hung down behind only, like a curtain [Pl. LI, 2]. Another head-gear consisted of a light arrangement formed by a kerchief, often of transparent material, disposed so as to resemble a pair of square wings, supported apparently on a wire foundation [Plates L, 5; LX, 1]. This was the delicate 'butterfly head-dress,' which became fashionable about 1470 and prevailed for some twenty years. In other varieties of this time the tiring has less projection at the sides, but is elevated in the form of two thick horns [Pl. LI, 4]. In the reign of Henry VI these forked coiffures became yet higher. Some took a heart-shape [Pl. LI, 5], and full turbans of Italian fashion were also in use, the hair in some cases flowing through them and hanging down the back [Pl. LI, 6]. The last-named head-dresses, and others, were worn with the short-waisted gowns which continued long after the middle of the fifteenth century. In the reign of Edward IV gowns were confined at the waist with broad bands, and gold chains were worn round the neck; the tall steeple cap [Pl. LI, 8] with long gauze veil flowing almost to the ground came in, and lasted with slight variations until the death of Edward IV—a graceful and picturesque costume. The steeple cap, with modifications, survives in the holiday attire of some of the Norman peasantry. With the middle and lower orders hoods or kerchiefs were worn in the place of the dainty eccentricities of the upper

1. From effigy of Wm. Marshal, E. of Pemb.; *d.* 1231. (*Temple Ch.*)

2. From an effigy in the *Temple Ch.*



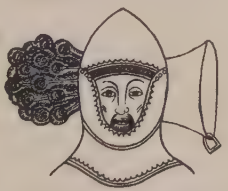
3. Flat-topped cylindrical helm, with movable ventail, *c.* 1250. (*In the Tower.*)

4. Tilting helm of Sir Rich. Pembridge; *d.* 1375. (*Exhib. Archaeol. Institute*, 1880.)

5. Bassinet with pointed vizor, *c.* 1400. (*Exhib. Arch. Inst.*, 1880.)

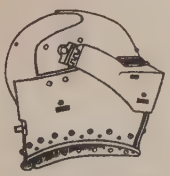
6. From effigy of Sir Robt. Goushill, *c.* 1425. (*Hoveringham, Notts.*)

7. From brass of Sir Nich. Dagworth, 1401. (*Blickling, Norfolk.*)

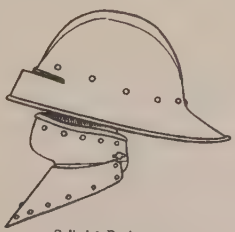


8. From brass of Lord Ferrers of Chartley, *c.* 1412. (*Merevale, Warwickshire.*)

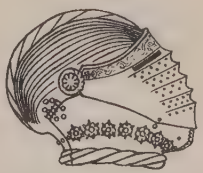
9. From brass of Roger Elmbrygge, Esq., *c.* 1435. (*Beddington, Surrey.*)



10. Armet, *c.* 1450–80. (*Exhib. Arch. Inst.* 1880.)



11. Sallad & Bavier, *c.* 1450–90. (*Exhib. Arch. Inst.* 1880.)



12. Fluted close-helmet, *c.* 1510–25. (*Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*)

Leonard Barnard, delt

classes. During the reign of Henry VII moderation in apparel, so long absent, is again discernible, but the extravagance still displayed at the funerals of the nobility and gentry led to the promulgation of his edict regulating expenditure on mourning. At the close of the fifteenth century the ancient wimple was reintroduced for aged gentlewomen, who often ended their lives in convents, where it was worn.

4. Tudor Period.

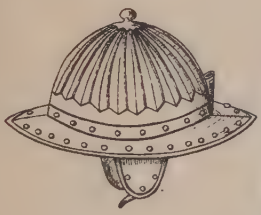
The military equipment of the last years of the fifteenth and the first of the sixteenth century had not quite the refinement of its immediate forerunner, yet it would be difficult to criticize adversely the magnificent fluted suits of the time. The *tuilles* are now shorter, and mail reappears, after the absence of a century, in the form of a skirt worn under the *tuilles* [Pl. xlvi, 5]. Apart from the beauty of the fluted breastplates, the flexible gauntlets, and other pieces, attention must be called to the workmanship of the close-helmets, with their plain, cable, or serrated combs, and complicated so-called *bellows-vizors*—real masterpieces of the pure working of iron with hammer and anvil which have never been surpassed [Pl. lii, 12]. Doubtless the glory of armour of this period centres in the tilting suits, of which such magnificent examples are preserved at Vienna. Very fine suits however, together with specimens of the jousting lance, may be seen in the Tower; some of them the actual equipment of Henry VIII. The adaptation of armour to the fashion of the puffed suits of this period marks the special *dégringolade* of the ancient art, though some forms of armour had already, centuries before, followed those of civil dress. Military costume of every grade is well shown in the pictures at Hampton Court illustrating the Field of the Cloth of Gold and the events connected with that prodigal display. Important characteristics of the armour of Henry VIII's time are the salient *lamboys*, fluted steel skirts or *bases*, suspended from the waist, with sometimes a semicircular space left in front and behind for wear on horseback [Pl. liii, 9]. These partially took the place of the *tuilles*, but were used only to a limited extent. Their place, as

well as that of the *tuilles*, was taken by the series of overlapping plates, playing freely on rivets one over the other, and known as *almayne rivets* [Pl. LIII, 10]. The pike was introduced into England during this reign, and the disuse of armour in warfare was now steadily progressing throughout Europe, the general tendency being for plate armour not to extend below the knees, save in the suits for the tournament. The halberdiers wore full-feathered flat hats and corslets, and guarded the colours, while, after the enemy had been broken by archery, 'shot,' cavalry, or pikes, the black-billmen, with their murderous weapons, did 'the slaughter or execution of the battle.' The Elizabethan breastplate *par excellence* took the form of the peascod doublet of civil dress, with its *tapul*, or ridge down the centre [Pl. XLVI, 6; XLIX, 3]. The old vizored *salades* have quite passed away, as have also in their turn the fluted close-helmets, with the bellows-vizors of Henry VIII's time. The close-helmets that gradually succeed exhibit the comb which becomes such a conspicuous feature in the *burgonet* with its *buffe* or chin-piece [Pl. LIII, 1], and other head-pieces with their *cinque cento* decorations [Pl. LIII, 2, 3], just after the middle of the sixteenth century. The high-combed *morions* [Pl. LIII, 2] were worn by pikemen, and the peaked and spiked *morions* or *cabassets* [Pl. LIII, 3] by musketeers, because the formation of the brims of the latter did not impede the sight. Those worn by officers were often of elaborate *repoussé* work, and engraved with Renaissance details. Such were the head-pieces specially associated, as many a picture shows, with the 'spacious times of great Elizabeth.' *Morions* of both kinds for common soldiers were made either plain or with large *repoussé* fleurs-de-lis of German and Italian fashion on the sides. With the combed *armets* or close-helmets of this period must be mentioned the powerful and beautiful suits of tilting armour, of the style shown in Jacob Topf's book, made for Leicester, Hatton, Sir Henry Lee, and other royal favourites. Reflexions of such suits of harness, *armure de parade*, are to be seen on monumental effigies of the time [Pl. XLVI, 6], and modifications of these are fully illustrated there down to the time of the Great Civil War [Pl. XLVII, 1]. *Carabines*, *petronels*, *arquebuses*, corslets

1. Burgonet with Buffe, *c.* 1515–30. (*Exhib. Archaeol. Inst.*, 1880.)

2. Morion, *temp.* Elizabeth. (*Exhib. Archaeol. Inst.*, 1880.)

3. Cabasset, *temp.* Elizabeth. (*Exhib. Archaeol. Inst.*, 1880.)



4. Pot-helmet, *temp.* Gt. Civil War. (*Meyrick Collection.*)

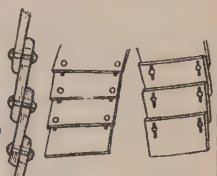
5. Lobster-tailed Burgonet, *temp.* Gt. Civil War. (*Exhib. Archaeol. Inst.*, 1880.)

6. From brass of Rich. Quartremayns, *c.* 1460. (*Thame, Oxon.*)

7. From brass of John Dengayn, *c.* 1460. (*Quy, Cambs.*)

8. From brass of Roger Elmbrygge, Esq., *c.* 1435. (*Beddington, Surrey.*)

9. Lamboys, *temp.* Hen. VIII. (*In the Tower.*)



10. Almayne Rivets, profile, front, & back, 16th cent. (*In the Tower.*)

11. From brass of Sir Miles Stapleton, 1364. (*Formerly at Ingham, Norfolk.*)

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12. From second Gt. Seal of Rich. I.

13. From Gt. Seal of John.

(i. e. breast- and back-plates), and bandoliers belong to this period; while the sleeveless and waistless buff jerkin, afterwards the famous buff coat of the Civil War, came into general use for pikemen, arquebusiers, musketeers (whose longer, heavier weapon was superseding the arquebus), and *targiters*, early in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The last-named were light infantry of the Spanish type, carrying only a sword and target, and without armour. Their targets being shot-proof, they received the enemy's fire, and before he could reload attacked at close quarters, getting also if possible inside the guard of the pikemen.

As to the civil habits during the Tudor period, there need be the less compunction in compressing a great deal into a small space, because we have now come into the light of day, and, as has already been intimated, the living works of immortal painters have placed the originals before us with the perfection of art. The reproductions of the portraits of kings and queens, noble men and fair dames of the sixteenth century, have made their costumes almost as familiar to us as our own. Who is not well acquainted, for instance, with the appearance of Henry VII in his simple furred gown and square cap, as shown in his painted portraits, as well as in his bronze effigy in the Abbey; and with that of his comely queen, wearing the familiar pedimental head-dress [Pl. LX, 2]. Equally well known is the truculent personality of Henry VIII, standing wide, with his short hair, flat cap, black and gold embroidered shirt, puffed and slashed velvet, silk, or satin *hose-stocks*, coloured cloth hose—stocks and hose being now separated for the first time—and slashed broad-toed shoes, his burly body habited in embroidered crimson doublet with full sleeves, and velvet jerkin, heavy with gold and small lace, full of cut-work, and with or without sleeves attached by *points* or by buttons. When to this dress is added the *froke* of cloth of gold or silver, or one of the numerous varieties of gowns, the gorgeous figure is sufficiently complete; and so many portraits remain of the king that a great part of his wardrobe is quite familiar to us. The genius of Holbein has similarly made us acquainted with the costume of the king's six wives, and that of Edward VI, both in painted pictures and

in the priceless drawings in the Royal collection at Windsor, known as 'Holbein's Heads.' Queen Mary in her beautiful embroidered gown, jewelled petticoat, small hood, ruff, and *pomander* is well shown by De Heere's fine portrait in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries; and as to Queen Elizabeth, in her great ruff, vast *fardingale*, the prototype of the crinoline, deep piqued and jewelled *stomacher* and ropes of pearls, what need to dwell on a costume that has been depicted a thousand times. We know from these sources that the queen's wardrobe was enormous and fantastic. But without such faithful evidence one might have been slow to believe that, even in that age of far-fetched conceits, any one would have worn, for instance, a dress embroidered all over with representations of human eyes and ears.

The habits of the nobility and upper classes in the time of Henry VII had little of the simplicity affected by the king, though the garments were much the same [Pl. XLIX, 1], consisting of shirt, breche, pettycote, doublet, long cote, stomacher, hosen, socks, and shoes. With this went a square cap, or, later, a very wide-brimmed hat, with drooping party-coloured plumes, worn on one side over a gold coif or caul that confined the long flowing hair. Sometimes we see the hat slung at the back. A specimen of female costume at this time is given in Plate L, 6. With the middle classes, the sober male apparel, originating as already mentioned in the last years of Edward IV, continued during the reign of Henry VII, when it comprised a plain coat, pleated down the front, a waist-belt for dagger and purse, hosen and shoes, a close hat with a gold band, and, pendent from it, a long tippet.

The costume of the nobles and upper classes in Henry VIII's time followed that of the king in both form and richness, and has been in like manner fully illustrated. The fine portrait by Holbein, or Streetes, at Hampton Court of the Earl of Surrey [Pl. XLIX, 2] is an excellent example, and shows him arrayed in scarlet of different depths. He wears a flat cap from which droops a single feather, white shirt, *pinched* and laced and embroidered with black, a short doublet open in front, a full jerkin with very wide puffed and slashed sleeves, full *hose-stocks*, and hose and small banded and jewelled shoes. Sleeves, both for men and

TILTING HELM.

(LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.)

(*At Haughton Castle, Northumberland.*)

for women, were now separate articles of dress, and were of different colours and materials from the rest of the body-clothing; they were *trussed* at the shoulders by points. The waistcoat is first mentioned at the end of this reign: it was sleeved, and worn under the doublet. The ancient hood is now quite gone, and the flat hats were cut and slashed, and edged or laden with feathers as worn on the close-helmets of the time. Men of the middle classes wore plain doublets, low, narrow-brimmed hats, puffed *stocks*, and hose. In the time of Edward VI and Mary the small flat round bonnet continued in general use; it lingered long with apprentices, and was spoken of as 'the city flat cap.' It still survives at Christ's Hospital, and in the 'muffin cap' of the parish schoolboy. The stuffed *upper-stocks* of the middle of the century developed during the reign of Elizabeth into the large paned and slashed *bombasted trunk-hose*; the doublet lost its skirts, and the body of it, by lengthening and quilting, was brought to the peascod shape, the whole, including the full divided sleeves, which showed the embroidered shirt, being richly laced and slashed. Hose drawn up over the knee, a wide ruff, a brimmed and slightly conical hat, and a short cloak completed the dress [Pl. XLIX, 3]. This costume continued, with slight modifications, until the reign of James I. Simple doublets, and *trunks*, or full breeches, of cloth, frieze, and canvas, were worn by the lower orders.

The ladies of the courts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth naturally followed the modes of the sovereigns. In the former reign the old-fashioned pedimental head-dress lingered [Pl. LX, 2], the paned lappets being at first pinned up at the sides and then modified into a smarter shape, and finally cut off; small French hoods, decorated with goldsmiths' work, and little bonnets of velvet, close hoods or cloth caps being worn by the middle and lower orders, with plain gowns and puffed sleeves. In the time of Elizabeth much ridicule was cast upon the vagaries of ladies' dress: on their laced and starched ruffs, *supportasses*, hoods, caps, kerchiefs, painted fans, ear-rings and dyed hair; on their costly gowns, kirtles, scented gloves, corked shoes, velvet masks, looking-glasses, gold chains, and pomanders. This Italianate

costume is found as the type of 'Vanity' in Emblem Books of the age. Some approach to moderation in dress is discernible in the middle of the reign; perhaps in consequence of the queen's commands respecting excess in apparel. The costume of the women of the middle classes, with its plain French hood, ruff, and gown with a little puffing at the shoulders, could hardly be simpler. As with the military so with the civil costume of the sixteenth century, the monumental effigies, no less than the painted pictures, supply an inexhaustible source of information [Pl. LI, 3].

Among other sumptuary edicts of the fifteenth century, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of the king, in 1492 issued an ordinance regulating with great detail the mourning costume for each estate of women. Of these habiliments the pleated *barbe*, the surcoat, and the hood are the most important; they were of old standing, and are constantly shown in their varieties on monumental effigies, from the fourteenth until after the middle of the sixteenth century [Pl. LI, 1]; the black hood *à calèche* and black gown and mantle taking their places before the end of it.

From this point, touching now but very generally upon such portions of armour as still survived and carrying the account down to the end of its use, we may note that arquebusiers of the Civil War period wore a striking form of helmet, to the *umbril*, or peak, of which was fixed a triple bar, a light form of vizor [Pl. LIII, 5]; that by statutes of 1672 and 1673 horsemen were ordered to wear breastplate, back-piece, and pot-helmet [Pl. LIII, 4], and to carry a sword and pistols; musketeers were to have a musket, bandoliers, and sword; and pikemen, back, breast, pot, pike, and sword. In the time of William III the lately embodied carbineers wore breast and back-pieces and iron skull-caps (the 'privy cap of fence' of the time of Henri Quatre), sewn into the crown of their felt hats. The sublime periwig is constantly represented in statues and pictures of the early years of the eighteenth century as worn with the cuirass, which had come to be a mere convention of painters and sculptors akin to the Roman *lorica* found in the pseudo-classic sculpture of the time. The effigy (1707) of Sir Cloudesley

Shovel in Westminster Abbey is a typical example. The plate gorget, then a mere flat collar, continued to be worn over the buff coat during and after the Civil Wars. It remained in ever-decreasing dimensions until the present day, now assuming the form of a small lunated-shaped brass plate, the badge of certain favoured cavalry regiments and the last remnant in legitimate descent of the ancient warlike panoply of the Middle Ages.

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V

HERALDRY

1. Origin of Armory.

The use of heraldic insignia is only one of the many manifestations of symbolism which we find prevalent in all periods and among all races. The same instinct of individual display or of social and military expedience that prompts the tattoo of a savage and the totem of his tribe, and in a higher environment is exemplified in the personal devices assigned by classical art and literature to the heroes of the Trojan War, or in the eagle of Rome and the ensigned shields of her cohorts, lies also at the root of that special and minutely organized system of pictorial language, the medieval 'armory' (see § 3) of Western Europe. It is possible that a peculiar impetus was given to the use of armorial emblems by the great German tournaments of the twelfth century. If so, we may attribute thereto the general acceptance in different languages of the term 'blazon,' which is of Middle High German origin, in the sense first of a shield, then of the bearings on it, and then of the describing of the latter: the twofold notion of fame and of the proclamation of it lying at the root of the word. In the list of purchases for the Tournament of Windsor Park in 1278 *blazona* is the term used for a shield. It was however in France, probably the original home of the tournament, that coat-armour was first subjected to scientific regulation; consequently most of the technical terms of heraldry are of French origin, and it was from France that it was imported into England as a science, though as yet at an immature stage. But whatever influence natural impulse or passing fashion may have exerted in the promotion of this form of symbolism prior to the thirteenth century, it was the adoption about

1180 of the closed helm [Pl. LIII, 12] which, by making it impossible to recognize leaders on the battlefield, rendered the employment on their part of distinctive tokens absolutely indispensable. 'Arms' quickly came into vogue among those of superior birth, and the independent and uncontrolled multiplication of these emblems that ensued compelled eventually their organization by central authority, since an indiscriminate use of them would defeat their object. Without doubt, too, the growing custom of sealing documents (see § 2) contributed to induce regularity in bearings, as also did the establishment of inherited surnames about the same period (see Canting Arms, p. 135).

Considerations of convenience, and the feelings of pride and veneration which attached to symbols associated with the exploits of ancestors or relatives, combined to fix heraldic insignia mainly on a hereditary and family basis, into which nevertheless there also entered to some extent the element of connexion by tenure; while, to avoid confusion even within these limits, coats were further distinguished as regards seniority and degrees either of kinship or of matrimonial or feudal alliance, by marks of cadency or by differences respectively. It may be that the Crusades, bringing together as they did large numbers of the upper classes of Europe, assisted the tendency to organization by illustrating its necessity with striking clearness; the tournaments also, which in England became the mode in and after the thirteenth century, and which originally were open only to the armigerous of four generations standing as such (see under Paternal Arms, § 3), doubtless helped towards the same end: and distinction acquired in the Holy Land or in the joust aided in the conversion of temporary or personal into permanent and hereditary insignia. Indeed, instances exist in which, on the introduction of armory, a personal device previously used by an individual was directly, or in some modified manner, made to serve as the armorial bearing of his family. Naturally, universal fixity of custom did not immediately come into operation, and we find cases before 1300 not only of the canon of heredity in coats being disregarded, but of the same person using different coats at different times, many of

which appear later as subsidiary quarterings. In the *Dictionarius*, too, of John Garland, written at some time after 1218, is a passage which seems to show that the capricious and unrestricted assumption of undifferentiated armorial devices had not disappeared in the first quarter of the thirteenth century: 'The shield-makers [of Paris] serve the towns throughout France and England, and sell to knights [*militibus*] shields . . . on which are painted lions and fleurs-de-lys.' This appears to indicate that, side by side with the rise of individualism in armory and its gradual organization, we have the continued existence of the state of things illustrated a generation earlier in the *Itinerary of Richard I*, where, in the description of the king's advance from Ascalon in 1192, we read that shields were adorned, seemingly wholesale, with 'fiery red prowling lions or golden flying dragons,' thus showing little general advance in the Third Crusade beyond the fashions of the Bayeux Tapestry. The explanation doubtless is that fixed and organized armory began with the most prominent leaders in war, and took time to work downwards to the mass of those of gentle blood. Still, in the thirteenth century irregularity was exceptional, and at the opening of the fourteenth century the hereditary principle may be regarded as completely established.

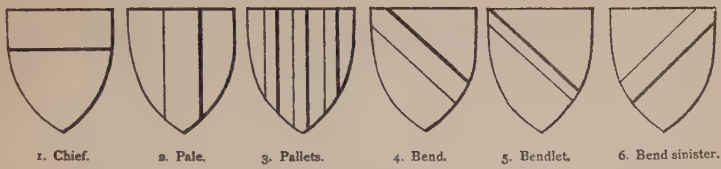
The chief peculiarity, then, of medieval armory, as compared with earlier or other symbolical usages, is that the former, owing to the above causes, was subjected to an organization with definite and detailed rules, enforced ultimately by official control, that it was mainly heritable in character, and that it became the badge of a specific social position. Its mainspring is to be found, not simply in the love of symbolism, which is instinctive, but in the need for its widespread employment in the most serious of human activities, war, and therefore for its reduction to a set system.

'Arms' were so called from their being originally depicted upon the most conspicuous portion of the defensive armour, the shield. To assist in the leading of larger bodies in war, and for recognition at a distance, they were in addition displayed on banners. After 1200, when, owing to improvement in armour, the shield began to diminish in size, it became the

practice to embroider them upon the various styles of surcoat worn at successive periods till the fifteenth century [e.g. Pl. XLV, 2, 4]; hence arose the phrases 'coat of arms' and 'coat-armour.' When plate armour came in they were occasionally enamelled on the breastplate. Devices on war-shields were painted flat and unshaded, and sometimes were embossed in relief on *cuir-bouilli*. The characteristic of the earliest armorial bearings is simplicity and boldness of design and strong contrast of colours. Thus they well fulfilled their primary purpose of readily indicating, even in the dust, confusion, and excitement of battle, the identity of the bearer.

A large proportion of these primitive coats is composed of figures formed by various arrangements of straight lines, known in heraldic language, from their frequent appearance, as the 'Ordinaries' [Pl. LIV, 1–17]. Many, however, of the oldest armorial shields are merely bi-coloured 'fields' divided into two or more compartments by vertical, horizontal, diagonal, or intersecting lines, and bear no 'charge.' If a beast were borne, it was usually a lion (perhaps because, besides being the 'king of beasts,' it was also the emblem of the sovereign), which often, when not rampant but in the less formidable posture of 'passant' [Pl. LVIII, 7], was termed a leopard, and when it lost size by multiplication, beyond three at any rate, a lioncel. Objects obviously emblematical explain themselves, and the admission into armory of animals, and many other charges that subsequently appeared, is intelligible enough: but the meaning of the ordinaries and certain other of the early devices, the symbolic purport of which is not evident, which cannot well, except quite occasionally, be 'canting' signs (see § 3), and which are not sufficiently decorative to justify their being looked upon as purely ornamental, is less clear. It has therefore been thought that most of the ordinaries were not arbitrary abstract inventions of geometrical permutation and combination, but that they had a concrete origin in the structural requirements of the more primitive and larger pre-armorial shield; and that when shields became smaller and probably less clumsily made, these constructional aids were no longer necessary, and remained only as dummy survivals (after the wont of obsolete things) which were

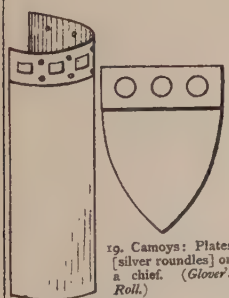
utilized, however, for armorial purposes. Wood as a rule formed the principal element in the composition of the medieval service-shield, and the boards, leather-covered or not, that constituted the body of it, were in pre-armorial times strengthened by wooden or iron clamps, strips, and crossbars, and by studs, nails, or rims of metal. Such stays and knobs are seen upon representations of shields anterior to the age of systematized armory, and it was not unnatural that they should have been, as we know they were, gilded or silvered, or fancifully painted another colour than that of the rest of the shield, as was often the case with the later non-armorial shields in armorial times: somewhat as the frame-timbers of houses and as studded and iron-bound doors were treated. Plates LIV, 18–23 and LV, 1–13 show braced pre-armorial shields by the side of early armorial shields bearing ordinaries, which originally were drawn narrower than they afterwards became when, owing to the increase in the number of coats, diminutives were multiplied and ordinaries charged. Among the oldest charges too are found those given in Plates LIV, 19; LV, 8, 13, 15; and LVI, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, all of which may possibly have originated in the highly important metal nail-heads, rivets, boss-nuts, and cramps of the pre-armorial shield [Plates LIV, 18; LV, 7, 12, 14; and LVI, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9]. It must not, of course, be supposed that such charges, when they appear in coats that came into being after the first days of armory, arose in this way: without doubt (apart from the element of heredity or connexion) some symbolical reference or mere play upon words then dictated the choice of the bearings (see § 3). Sometimes charges apparently were suggested by artistic forms that had been wrought out for other purposes and were pressed into the service of armory. Particularly does this seem to have occurred in the case of many of the numerous designs of the cross, the intelligible popularity of which was possibly enhanced by the Crusades; but the prototypes of some shapes are to be found in the metal braces referred to above [e. g. Pl. LV, 5–10].



1. Chief. 2. Pale. 3. Pallets. 4. Bend. 5. Bendlet. 6. Bend sinister.

7. Fess. 8. Bars. 9. Chevron. 10. Chevronels. 11. Cross. 12. Saltire.

13. Pile. 14. Quarter. 15. Canton. 16. Bordure. 17. Orle.



18. Pre-armorial, 9th cent. (*Leges Longobardorum: Stuttgart lib.*)

19. Camoys: Plates [silver roundles] on a chief. (*Glover's Roll.*)

20. Pre-armorial, 12th cent. (*Lewis Chessman: Brit. Mus.*)

21. L'Orti: a Pale [early ordinaries were commonly narrow], *temp. Hen. III.*

22. Pre-armorial, early 12th cent. (*From pyx found in Temple Ch.*)

23. Talebot: Bendlets. (*Roll of* 1277 87.)

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2. Early Armory: Sources of Evidence.

Among the earliest quite trustworthy armorial evidences are those found on seals, which came gradually into general use after the Norman Conquest, at a time when there was a perpetual shifting of landed property, and comparatively few of the laity at least could write. How the custom had spread downwards by the end of Stephen's reign may be seen from the sneer of the Justiciar, Richard de Lucy, recorded in the Chronicle of Battle Abbey: 'In old times it was not the fashion for every knightling (*militulus*) to have a seal, which befits only princes and great men.' By Henry III's time however, if not before, a seal had become an essential part of a deed, and seals themselves had become largely armorial. Thus, whereas before the rise of heraldry in the twelfth century devices on seals had been arbitrary, the inscription alone denoting the possessor, the application to them of armory and their widespread use were contemporaneous movements. Necessarily persons not entitled to armorial bearings, yeomen, merchants, and the like, continued to use unheraldic seals. Indeed, the affixing of seals in lieu of signatures continued, perhaps because the forgery of a seal was more difficult than that of an autograph, long after the art of writing had become relatively common, and survives in the conventional seals still placed on many legal instruments. King John could write, but he did not sign, he sealed Magna Carta; and the first royal sign-manual of which a specimen exists in England is that of Richard II. After about 1520 the combination of seal and signature, which often appears before that date, became the almost universal practice, though it was not till 1677–8 that signatures alone were made legally necessary in deeds concerning real property, and heraldic seals did not even then disappear from them at once. Thus the witness of seals extends over something like 600 years.

Since armorial seals naturally would not be extensively used in legal transactions until armory was fairly organized, they are not the oldest evidences, but their heraldic importance is obvious, for the devices thereon must be those claimed, and accepted as borne, at the time of impression, seeing that they are the

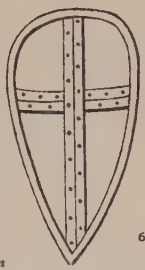
acknowledged representatives, as it were, of the bearer. Moreover, as a rule, the owner's name, and sometimes that of his father, is inscribed round the margin. The frequent breaking, or recasting, by the heir of the metal die of his predecessor still further narrows the limits of identification. Metal dies were generally made of brass, latten, bronze, or lead, occasionally of silver, more rarely of steel or gold. Jet, porcelain, horn, bone, ivory, and stone were also used. Impressions of seals were taken in bees-wax, brown, red, green, yellow, black, or white. In shape, before the thirteenth century, they were generally a pointed oval, the *vesica*, which had a religious origin, and when afterwards the seals of laymen commonly assumed a circular form, ecclesiastics for the most part adhered to the pointed ellipse. The impress was made either *plaqué* (or *en placard*), that is on the face of the document, or was suspended to the deed by a parchment label or a silk cord. Various methods were adopted to lessen the facility of fraudulent removal from one document to another. A common device for preventing a seal *plaqué* from being detached was to make cross cuts in the parchment, turn back the tongues thus formed, and press the wax on the spot so that it was forced through the orifice and appeared on the back of the deed as well as the front. But if the whole seal could then no longer be lifted off with a heated knife, the upper half could, and it was probably to the guarding against such a trick by making it useless that counter-sealing owes its origin. In the case of pendent seals a still safer means was devised which rendered transference well-nigh impossible: this was to attach the seal or seals to a pendulous strip cut out of the body of the deed itself. It was thus possible to make on the two sides a pair of inseparable impressions, as with a coin. That on the inscribed face of the instrument is known as the seal or the obverse of the seal, that on the back as the counter-seal or the reverse of the seal, the two being regarded as constituting together a single seal. Another term for the obverse was 'the authentic,' and for the reverse the *Secretum* or 'privy-seal.' The latter came into use apparently after about 1170. Both were usually the same shape and size, but often the counter-seal, which almost invariably bore a

1. Pre-armorial, 11th cent. (*Jeremias Apocalypsis: Darmstadt lib.*)

2. Stoteville: Barrulets. (*Roll of* 1277-87.)

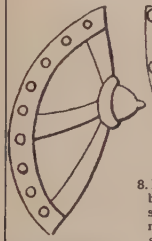
3. From Pembroke Seal. (*Bysshe's Upton*, 1654, *Notae*, 89.)

4. From Gloucester Seal. (*Sandford's Genealog. Hist. Eng.* 1707, 139.)

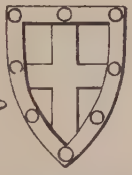


5. Pre-armorial, 12th cent. (*Lewis Chessman: Brit. Mus.*)

6 Eudo: Cross within bordure. (*Quartered by Fiennes.*)



7. Pre-armorial. (*Bayeux Tapestry.*)



8. Polley: Cross within bordure bezanty [i.e. studded with gold roundles]. (*First Dunstable Roll*, 1308.)

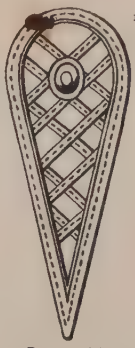
9. From Hertford Seal. (*Anc. Deeds, L.S.* 47: *Record Off.*)

10. Pre-armorial, 12th cent. (*Lewis Chessman: Brit. Mus.*)

11. Alex. de Neville, 1374: Saltire within a bordure. [The bord. here is a difference: the Neville saltire without a bord. appears in *Glover's Roll.*]

12. Pre-armorial. (*Bayeux Tapestry.*)

13. Champernon: Saltire between 16 bezants.



14. Pre-armorial, early 12th cent. (*From pyx found in Temple Ch.*)

15. Verdun: fretty. (*Glover's Roll.*)

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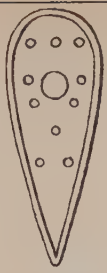
different design, was smaller. The *Secretum* was not necessarily used only as a counter-seal. The severe punishment of abjuration of the realm is on record as having been inflicted for counterfeiting the seal of another person; and when a matrix was lost the owner gave public notice of the fact, lest the finder, or the thief, might turn it to his own purposes; and at his death it was placed in a box, or purse, closed under the seals of three 'honest persons,' and in due course was defaced, as we have said, by his heirs or executors. The care bestowed on the safeguarding of seals adds to the authenticity of their evidence.

A seal might be either official or personal. The former furnishes proof of arms attached to a public office, secular or ecclesiastic, and such also would be the 'Common Seal' of a corporate body or of a religious house. The latter would show the personal coat, or the badge, or both, of its possessor. Official arms naturally came into existence only for business purposes. Among official seals it is to be noted that the first Great Seal of Richard I (*c.* 1189), the first in which a king of England is represented with the closed helm, is also the first which displays on the shield an armorial bearing [Pl. LVII, 6]. It is a lion rampant sinister, which seems to be facing a second lion that is invisible owing to the shield being in profile; the couple forming the position termed combatant, or counter-rampant. This is confirmed by two contemporary writers. William Brito, in his Latin poem *Philippis*, makes William des Barres say of Richard, who was then count of Poitou, 'I recognize the gaping jaws of the lions on his shield'; and in the *Itinerary of Richard I* we read that at the interview between the king and Isaac, Emperor of Cyprus, in 1191, the saddle of the former was decorated with 'a pair of golden lioncels facing one another open-jawed, one forepaw of each extended towards the other [beast] as though to rend it.' To his second seal, struck in 1198, he added the third lion, but placed the animals passant gardant as now [Pl. LIII, 12]. The adoption of a triad of lions may have been in conformity with the taste for the mystic number three, which, with its square nine, was so dear to heraldry, and to which the shape of the triangular shield lent itself. From the respective seals of Gilbert de Clare, first Earl of Pembroke (d. 1148), and of Gilbert de

Clare, Earl of Gloucester (d. 1230), we see how one arrangement of the strengthening bands that preceded hereditary bearings may have suggested a later coat. It is in Stephen's reign that the first beginnings of armorials are seen, and the Pembroke seal [Pl. LV, 3] shows the long Norman kite-shield, with the gabled top of that period, stiffened by bars which follow the direction of the gable, thus forming a succession of chevrons, or rather chevronels; and in a seal [Pl. LV, 9], *c.* 1138–48, of another Gilbert de Clare, first Earl of Hertford (d. 1152), five narrow gabled ribs are indicated on the shield. Bars were a natural and not uncommon contrivance for binding together a large shield, but from the coincidence of this form of clamp appearing on the shields of two contemporaneous members of the same family in the infancy of heraldry, it seems probable that we have here a very early instance of the practical appliance being put to the symbolical use which was in time wholly to supersede it. The Gloucester seal [Pl. LV, 4] is subsequent to the general adoption of armory, and shows the familiar, and by that time well-established, Clare coat of three chevrons. It may be mentioned that the helmets on the Pembroke and Hertford seals are open, while the helm on the Gloucester shield is closed. The 95 seals appended to the duplicate of the letter of the barons of England to Boniface VIII in 1301, objecting to his intervention in the English claim to the overlordship of Scotland, are a valuable body of evidence as to the arms of the leading men of the kingdom at that date: it was signed as well as sealed. There are only sixteen counter-seals: this may give an idea of how far counter-sealing was then prevalent. The document is preserved in the Record Office. In the British Museum, too, there is a large collection of early seals. An early *Sigillum* and *Contra Sigillum* or *Secretum* is that (*c.* 1210–16) of Seherus (*Sayer*) de Quenci, Earl of Winchester, one of the twenty-five barons appointed to enforce Magna Carta [Pl. LIX, 4]. An interesting specimen of a die is the silver seal of Thomas de Prayers, *circa* Edward II [Pl. LIX, 3]. The loop of the handle works a screw which projects the centre of the matrix, so that an impression may be taken with or without the surrounding legend '*Sigillum*,' &c.; further, the centre may be screwed off,

1. Pre-armorial, 12th cent. (*Lewis Chessman: Brit. Mus.*)

2. Hundiscote: a bordure. (*Roll c.* 1286.)

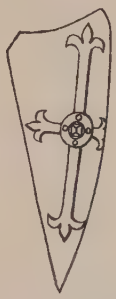


3. Pre-armorial. (*Bayeux Tapestry.*)

4. Pichford: semée of 4 foils, and a 5 foil. (*St. George's Roll.*) [4 foil-headed studs are found on pre-armorial shields.]

5. Pre-armorial. (*Bayeux Tapestry.*)

6. From Seal of Richard de Clare, 1259-62: Cross bottonée. (*Cotton MS. Julius C.* 7, p. 154.)



7. Pre-armorial; tomb of Helie, Comte de Maine, d. 1110. (*Montfaucon's Mon. monarch. françoise*, V. i. 370.)

8. Lamplowe: cross flory. (*Glover's Roll.*)

9. Pre-armorial; tomb of Wm., Count of Flanders [son of Robt., D. of Normandy], d. 1128. (*Sandford's Genealog. Hist. Eng.*, 1707, p. 17.)

10. From Seal of Thierry, Count of Cleves, 1311: an inescutcheon surmounted of an escarbuncle. (*Planché's Pursuivant of Arms*, 127.)

11. Transitional shield: armorial charges and constructional radiated boss. (*Tomb of Geof. of Anjou(?), d. 1151, father of Hen. II: Le Mans Museum.*)

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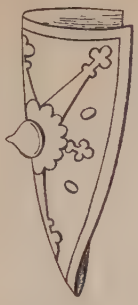
when a smaller matrix appears for counter-sealing. This last seemingly is the coat of his mother, who was a Verdun [Pl. LV, 15]. The star shows the point where the screw-motion ends, and also which side to turn uppermost when impressing.

Of prime importance, though not altogether so trustworthy as that of seals, is the testimony of monuments: stone, metal, wooden, or glass. These being sentimental, not legal, in their origin, were of less practical importance, and mistakes in their case might more easily escape immediate notice, and were more likely to be allowed to remain uncorrected. An early stone slab exhibiting armorial evidence is that (*c.* 1285) of Sir John le Botiler. He bore three covered cups, two of which are repeated on the plate skull-cap worn over his mail-coif [Pl. LXI, 1], a foreshadowing of the later crest. The name and charge arose from the office of king's butler long held by his family. A later slab, displaying considerably more heraldry, is that (1346) of Sir John Daubygne [Pl. LXI, 3]; and a brass which furnishes a profusion of information as to kinship and alliances is that (1391) of Lady Willoughby de Eresby [Pl. LXI, 2]. These three monuments illustrate the growing custom of placing armorial records on tombs. The gilding, white metal, and coloured resins and enamels that were employed in the armorials of many brasses have rarely survived the wear and tear of time; for although found on walls and altar-tombs, brasses were usually laid down in pavement-slabs as a substitute for the more expensive and obstructive stone monuments in effigy or in relief, and so were subjected to the friction of thoroughfare. The expansion and contraction of the metal would also contribute to the loss of the colouring matter. But where armorial windows have escaped demolition, the hues of the coats are often preserved for us; though, owing to certain difficulties connected with glass-painting, they are not always accurate. As a sample of a window record we may instance that (*c.* 1485) to the wife of a Peyton of Suffolk [Pl. LX, 1], in which her costume tells us both the name of her husband and her own maiden name; as is not uncommon before 1500, the coat-armour of her family being depicted on her kirtle and that of her husband on her outer mantle, symbolizing her estate

as a *femme covert* and protected, i. e. a married woman. After the above date the impaled arrangement, borrowed from the shield, is more usual, the *baron's* (husband's) arms being on the dexter, the *femme's* on the sinister side of the mantle [Pl. LX, 2]. Plate LX, 3 shows an impaled arrangement by which the arms of the *femme* are displayed on her mantle, and those of the *baron* on its turned back lining. When the arms are on the mantle only, or are the same on both mantle and kirtle, they are those of the lady's house.

Other, though less prolific, sources of evidence are found in illuminated MSS. as early as Henry III's time, and in priestly vestments, on which the arms of patrons were frequently embroidered: on the border of the Syon cope (*c.* 1300), now in the South Kensington Museum, some sixty coats are worked in colours [Pl. LXXXVI]; while the stole that belongs to the same set of robes is adorned with forty-six, and the maniple with eighteen. Here may be noted the collection of arms (*temp.* Hen. V to Hen. VII) carved on the roof of the cloisters at Canterbury Cathedral, and the stall-plates, prior to 1500, of the Knights of the Garter in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Of the highest value, too, are the Rolls of Arms and similar armorial collections which contain lists of the bearings of the royal family, the nobility, and other gentry. Some of these were schedules of the arms of persons present at particular sieges, tournaments, &c.; some were general catalogues of coats in use, to which class belong the first three of the Rolls about to be described. 'Glover's Roll,' perhaps the earliest of all, takes us back to 1240–5 and contains 218 coats. The original is lost, and we have only a copy made in 1586 by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald. This does not give drawings of the coats, merely blazes them, but in so doing supplies the tinctures, which seals do not till long after the invention of the dot and line method [Pl. LVII, 8], a contrivance in use on the continent as early as 1600, but, so far as is known, first adopted in England in 1654, when it appears in Bysshe's edition of Upton (see § 3); while where pigments have been applied to monuments of stone and wood they have often, like those on brasses, become obliterated through destruction or



1. Non-armorial, close of 13th cent. (*Add. MSS.* 11, 639, *fol.* 520.)

2. Non-armorial, 15th cent.: archer's pavois, apparently with sight-holes and hand-holes, for shooting kneeling. (*Arsenal of Berlin.*)

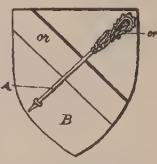
3. Non-armorial, 16th cent.; foot-soldier's shield. (*From the Weiss Kunig.*)

Note.—Figs. 1-5 show ancient pre-armorial methods of strengthening still in use in later non-armorial shields.

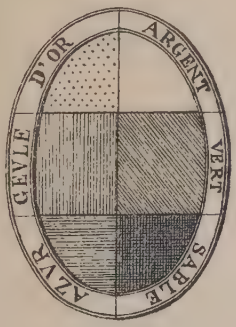
4. Non-armorial, late 15th cent.: hand-target. (*Monbijou Palace Museum, Berlin.*)

5. Non-armorial, 16th cent.: hand-buckler. (*Triumphs of the Emp. Maximilian.*)

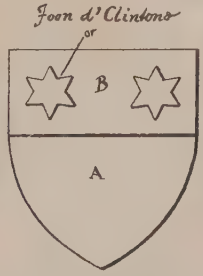
6. From First Seal of Richard I.



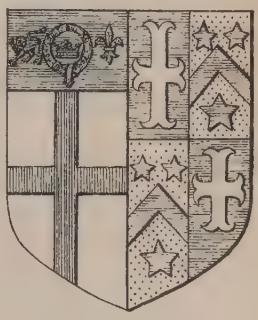
7. Arms of Monastery of St. Agatha, being those of Scrope of Bolton differenced with a crozier.



8. Tincture points and lines. (*Bysshe's Upton*, 1654.)



9. Trick of Arms: A = argent, B = azure. (*St. George's Roll.*)



10. Sir Wm. Segar, Garter, 1603-33. (*Guillim*, 1724, VI. I, 419.)

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decay. Some Rolls, however, do provide coloured drawings, as in the case of 'Charles' Roll,' a fifteenth-century copy of a Roll of *c.* 1280–95. Since, although not contemporary, this is an early transcript, we may take it as a specimen. It is composed of four membranes of vellum, about a foot wide, sewn together so as to form one long slip of 8½ feet. The 486 shields, each superscribed with the bearer's name, are arranged nine abreast in fifty-four rows. This Roll derives its name from its owner, Nicholas Charles, who was Lancaster Herald in the reign of James I. Another, known as 'St. George's Roll,' containing 677 coats, is a transcript made in 1607 by Charles from an old Roll (then in the possession of Sir Richard St. George, Norroy), also of about 1280–95. This will supply a representation of 'tricking,' that is sketching arms in outline and indicating the colours by letters, which was practised at least as far back as 1530 [Pl. LVII, 9]. In tricking, where the same charge occurred more than once on a shield, often only the first was drawn, the places of the rest being marked by the figures 2, 3, &c. One of the most interesting Rolls is the famous *Le Siège de Karlaverok*, a Roll of Arms and Chronicle combined. It is a metrical account, in the debased Anglo-French of the time, of the siege of the castle of Carlaverock, on the Solway, by Edward I in July, 1300, and gives the blazons of 106 bannerets and knights who mustered on the occasion. The earliest series of contemporary dated drawings of shields of arms will be found in the *Historia Minor* of Matthew Paris, who died about 1259. A list of such Rolls as have been printed is given at the end of this Section, but many still remain in MS. An account of a number of both published and unpublished Rolls will be found in the *The Genealogist* for 1881.

3. The Accidence of Armory and Classification of Coats.

Armory is that department of Heraldry which relates to coats of arms and their appurtenances, such as crests, mantlings, mottos, supporters, &c. ; but since it was in the execution

of their duties as regulators of armorial bearings that the heraldic officers (see §§ 4, 5) came most frequently and most closely into contact with the community, and since many of their other functions gradually fell into disuse and oblivion, Heraldry and Armory have in vulgar parlance practically become convertible terms: or rather the former has in its application been narrowed down to the latter, while the latter, unfortunately, is in some danger of fading into an archaism. The scope of this Section, which is concerned in the main with Heraldry in its connexion with History, does not admit of or necessitate our entering into the details of what is known as the Accidence, or Grammar, of Armory: the vast mass of rules and provisions, extending from broad principles to minute and complicated refinements, that constitutes the science of blazonry. This is readily accessible in a host of works, large and small, elementary and advanced, a list of some of the most useful and easily procurable of which is given later.

It is clear from the descriptions of the coats in the oldest Rolls that a code of accepted custom, the variations in which are but slight, regulated the practice of blazonry 150 years before the first extant treatise on the subject was written in this country, and nearly 250 years before the incorporation of the College of Arms in 1483. The earliest heraldic works known to have been produced in England were the *Tractatus de Armis* of *Johannes de Bado Aureo* ('John of Guildford,' a pseudonym) and the *De Studio Militari* of Nicholas Upton, who was possibly the author of both. The former was composed at the suggestion of the 'Good Queen Anne,' first wife of Richard II, and was finished at some time after her death in 1394; the latter, dedicated to the 'Good Duke Humphrey' of Gloucester, the Maecenas of the age, was completed probably before August, 1436; neither was printed till 1654. These are in Latin; the first printed book, and the first in English, that deals with armory, *The Boke of St. Alban's*, appeared in 1486. The authorship of the armorial portion, which is based in part upon Upton, is uncertain. The fact that one of the earliest productions of the English press was a treatise on armory

testifies to the importance and popularity of the subject. An early sixteenth-century translation by John Blount of the *De Studio Militari* exists in MS., and will shortly be published.

A fundamental principle, imperative for the practical purposes of armory and therefore jealously guarded by both the officials and the bearers of coat-armour, was that no two persons should use the same arms; and that this yet unwritten law was early recognized and enforced is manifest, among other proofs, from the extreme rarity of repeated coats among the many hundreds contained in the Rolls, and from the cases of contested coats that occur; while, on the other hand, the small number of these cases affords additional evidence to the same effect. Mention is made in the Carlaverock Roll of a disputed coat, when, 'many, man and woman, marvelled' that two persons should bear the same; and a judicial combat over a coat is recorded a few years later, in 1312. These controversies naturally arose on the occasion of military expeditions, when the similarity or the irregular assumption of coats would be readily detected; and the action taken by the Crown in the fifteenth century (see § 5) for the regulation of armorial bearings was due, not to a sentimental regard for the rights of private possession or to a sense of moral outrage at the unwarranted use of coat-armour, but to sheer military necessity. Owing, indeed, to intercourse in the battle, in the crusade, and in the tourney, among the gentle classes of Western Europe, the laws of armory developed at one time to some extent a tendency to become regarded like chivalry and knighthood, not merely as local and national, but as catholic and European; though this seems not to have applied to countries between which a third nation intervened, as convenience in war was less likely to be affected. Thus, that the bearing of the same arms or the same device, even by a foreigner, was upon occasion viewed with resentment, can be seen, for instance, in the angry words that passed between Sir John Chandos and the Marshal of Clermont on the day before the battle of Poitiers; or in an episode of that period where a Frenchman challenged to combat a Genoese for displaying the same charge as himself, the head of an ox, the Italian escaping from his dangerous

situation by protesting that the head on his shield was only that of a cow.

Coats, when classified according to their nature and origin, fall fairly conveniently into ten divisions, with a little unavoidable overlapping here and there. The first four are 'Public,' the rest 'Private Arms.' (1) Arms of Dominion are those attached to dominions, and are borne by sovereigns as such on their escutcheons, flags, seals, &c. They are not family coats. (2) Arms of Pretension (i. e. *claim*) are those of dominions not actually possessed by the bearer, but to which he lays claim, e. g. Edward III, who at first quartered the fleurs-de-lys of France as Arms of Alliance, in token of his maternal descent, after the lions of England, on laying claim to the French crown shifted them to the senior position, France being considered the more ancient and more important kingdom, and bore them as Arms of Pretension. They continued to be borne by the English sovereigns until 1801. It may be noted that Richard II sometimes bore England quartering France instead of the reverse. To this class, or to Augmentations, may be referred the arms of an heiress' family borne (after her father's death and if there be issue) expectantly, on behalf of the children, by her husband 'in pretence,' i. e. on a smaller shield in the centre of his own, the former indicating the claim. This was not a common medieval practice, but is found as far back as the fifteenth century. (3) Arms of Community are those of corporate bodies, such as cities, universities, religious houses, societies, and the like. They are often derived from the coats of founders, benefactors, or former members of distinction [e. g. Pl. LVII, 7]. Under this heading may come the arms of sees borne by their bishops: a bishop being a 'corporation sole.' (4) Arms of Office or Official Dignity are those connected with official appointments. They can be borne alone, or impaled with the personal arms of the occupant, the dexter, or more honourable, half of the shield being given to the coat of office as perpetual. Such are those of the Kings of Arms [Pl. LVII, 10]; and those of bishoprics may be placed either under Class 3 or here. A bishop is considered as wedded to his see (*maritus*

ecclesiae), and his personal coat may be impaled with that of the diocese, but to the sinister. Although this arrangement appears in the '3d Parliament Roll' of 1515, and is found indeed as early as 1396 (see § 2), it was a fashion uncommon before the Reformation, but is in accordance with an old occasional custom of placing the wife's arms first if she were of higher rank or greater estate. When he dies *eius ecclesia dicitur viduata.* (5) Paternal Arms are those that descend from the first possessor to his posterity. By heraldic tradition perfect 'nobility' (*gentlehood*) was only acquired after inherited arms had been borne for four generations (cp. p. 117). This was in accordance with the formula *quia sanguis non purgatur usque ad quartum.* Supposing an *Atavus*, or great-great-great-grandfather had 'obteined cote-armor by his desert,' the first to inherit the coat would be his son, the *Abavus*, in whom the arms were said to be 'begun,' and who was regarded as a 'gentleman of coat-armour,' as was his son, the *Proavus*, in whom the arms 'grew'; in the next generation the arms were 'completed' in the *Avus*, who thus became a 'gentleman of blood,' as was his son, the *Pater*; while the *Filius* of the last was the first 'gentleman of blood perfect,' who, if he could reckon five armigerous descents on his mother's side as well, was also a 'gentleman of ancestry.' These exacting qualifications, if they were ever rigidly insisted upon, which may be more than doubted, became relaxed as time went on. (6) Arms of Alliance are derived from 'heiresses,' i. e. females of armigerous houses, who, owing to the extinction of the males, represent their families. (*a*) These arms (see under 2) may be quartered by those born of an heiress mother, and thenceforward transmitted as a quartering to descendants, whereby is perpetuated the memory of many old families that have failed in the male line. (*b*) In former times the paternal coat was sometimes placed after, or discarded for, that of an armigerous heiress who brought in as a wife a great property or was 'of more eminent nobility': a course which tended to obscure family history. (7) Arms of Concession or Augmentation were those granted by the sovereign, or other feudal superior, in commemoration of an exploit, or to indicate a connexion of some nature, or of

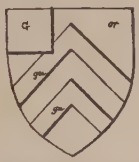
'meer grace.' To the first belongs the addition by Henry VIII of a composition suggested by the royal arms of Scotland to the coat of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, as a memorial of his victory of Flodden Field [Pl. LVIII, 1]: to the second the granting by Henry VIII of a chief, bearing a selection from the royal arms of England, to Thomas Manners, first Earl of Rutland, to mark his descent from Henry's grand-aunt, Ann Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV [Pl. LVIII, 2]: to the third the concession by Richard II to Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk, of the right to impale the (mythical) coat of Edward the Confessor, the king's patron saint, with his own [Pl. LVIII, 3]. Augmentations were also borne on cantons, or might be quartered before the paternal coat. The term 'special concession' was applied to Augmentations which contained charges from the royal arms, and could therefore be granted only by the sovereign. These, when impaled, or marshalled, took precedence of the paternal coat, or they might supersede the latter. Among Augmentations is to be included the Red Hand, or badge of Ulster, borne as a charge on a canton, or on an inescutcheon, by all baronets except those of Scotland. (8) Arms of Succession or Adoption (*a*) were those that, in the absence of heirs by blood, accrued by entail, will, or donation during the life of the donor, to strangers. Succession to property passing in this way has often been made conditional on the assumption of the arms, and usually the name, of the donor. These arms were borne either in place of, or (if the donor so willed it) quartered before those of the 'adopted successor': unless the latter were of a more ancient family, in which case, according to the armorists, he was not bound to assume coat or name, 'and yet might enjoy the property.' It was, however, maintained by some that so long as a single male heir by blood existed (monks and attainted persons not excepted), personal coats could not be alienated, no matter what happened to the property, the bearer having only a life interest, not absolute possession. The royal sanction was necessary to alienation. (*b*) There was another class of Arms of Succession, unconnected with any question of blood or adoption. These were attached to lordships or estates, from holder to holder of which they passed.

1. Howard augmented.

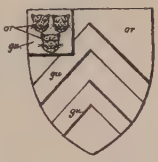
2. Manners augmented.

3. Mowbray augmented.

4. Hardres of Kent. (*Camden's Remains*, 1674, p. 232.)

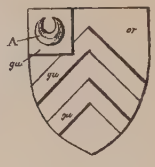


5. Kyrell of Kent, Over-lord. (*Camden's Remains*, 234.)



6. Rumney, 3 leopards' heads.

7. Orlanston, lion passant.



8. Howdlow, crescent.

All holding in Kent of Kyrell. (*Camden's Remains*, 234.)

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20. Actual lady's manche, 12th cent. (*Planche's Hist. Brit. Costume*, 1893, p. 80.)

21. Conventionalized manche. (*Tomb of Wm. de Valence, d.* 1296; *Westm. Abbey.*)

22. Conventionalized manche. (*Leigh's Armorie*, 1562. *fol.* 103".)

23. De-conventionalized manche. (*Spelman's Aspilogia*, 1654, *p.* 109.)

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They were also termed Arms of Tenure or Feudal Arms, and many ancient 'collateral' shields and early quarterings were coats of such lordships, not of family alliances. In some instances, before the days of marshalling, family arms were discarded in their favour. (9) Arms of Patronage were of two kinds. (*a*) Those assumed, usually as additions to their paternal arms, by lords of manors, patrons of benefices, &c., to betoken their rights as such; to which probably in numerous instances the castles, woolcombs, millrinds, wheels, hunting-horns, arrows, &c. that appear as charges owe their introduction into armory, though some such may indicate the terms of a tenure and so come under (*b*), those granted by the sovereign, or other immediate feudal superior, to holders of land in fee under them: often in consideration of the performance of a particular duty, as castle-ward, stewardship, &c. Frequently in these cases the overlord's coat, differenced, was borne [Pl. LVIII, 5–8]; or some ordinary or charge was taken from his shield and added to the paternal arms of the tenant, thus forming what was known as a 'composed coat'; e.g. Hardres of Kent held the manor of Hardres by knight service of Tunbridge Castle, a seignory of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester, and 'debruised' the Hardres lion with a chevron [Pl. LVIII, 4] from the Clare coat [Pl. LV, 4]. Again, in some instances the bearings of a tenant appear to have been suggested by the sword, knife, helmet, bow, arrow, spur, ring, cup, horn, &c., of his overlord, which in many early tenures (*c.* 1050–1300) were delivered by him to the tenant and held by the latter and his descendants as evidence of the grant. At Trinity College, Cambridge, a deed of 1135 is still preserved to which the knife of the grantor is appended in lieu of a seal. One of the best known cases is that of the rangership of Bernwood Forest, Bucks, held by a horn, which was represented on the coat of arms of the descendant of Nigel, the original grantee; argent, a fess gules, between two crescents in chief and a horn in base vert. 'Nigel's horn' is engraved in vol. iii of *Archaeologia*. (10) Arms of Religion. Ecclesiastics and Knights of Religious Orders at times left their paternal arms and took others made up of sacred objects, such as mitres, keys, or figures of saints. To this division is also to be relegated the so-called coat of Edward

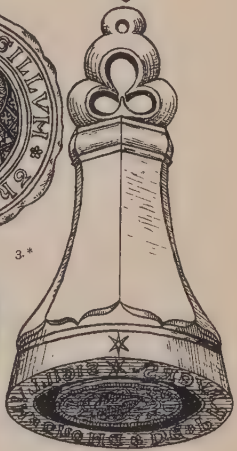
the Confessor assumed by Richard II. These arms, when marshalled, took precedence of all others.

Two other classes of arms enumerated by the old armorists are: (1) Arms of Assumption or Conquest. There was a theory that the bearings of a person who fled, leaving his shield or his banner on the field, or who was vanquished in fight, whether in war or in 'lists of combat,' could be assumed and borne in a sinister quarter, or otherwise added in whole or in part to his own arms, by the victor, *jure gentium*. (2) Arms of Abatement. 'Abatements' or 'rebatings' were a series of marks of disgrace to be borne on the scutcheon for 'ungentle' acts, such as boasting, slaying a prisoner, cowardice, drunkenness, debauchery, discourtesy to women, treachery, and so forth. It is extremely doubtful whether the former of these two supposed laws of armory was ever actually in operation, and the only examples adduced appear to have been really cases of augmentation; while as to the latter, in the absence of any authenticated instance, we may conclude that an offender would prefer to forgo armorial bearings altogether than publish his shame by displaying an abatement. A practice in which this apparent figment may have originated is that of reversing the coat for treason, as when, in 1323, the Earl of Carlisle and other rebel barons were led to execution in tabards [Pl. LX, 5] whereon their arms were depicted upside down, and this was the manner in which a traitor's shield was said to be rebated. According to the medieval jurists, it was a survival from 'the old form of hanging traitors by the feet.' When, however, a knight was 'disgraded' he was regarded as dead in chivalry, and this inversion of the coat of arms was in consonance with the ordinary procedure at funerals, by which the herald of a defunct nobleman, as his representative, wore his late master's tabard inverted. That this symbolic custom is as old as the first days of armory may be seen from the reversed shields drawn by Matthew Paris in the margins of his *Historia Minor* when he records the death of the owners. The reversal of the coat of arms formed part of the sentence of Sir Ralph Grey, who was degraded from knighthood (see § 6) in 1464, and the Earl of Carlisle also had been so degraded. Indeed, the displaying of the culprit's shield

1. From effigy of John of Eltham, brother of Edward III, 1336. (*Westm. Abbey.*)

2. *Vide* Talbot Banners, *Catalog. Heraldic Exhib., Soc. Antiq.*, 1894, *Plates* xxv, xxvi.

* Seal of Thos. de Prayers. (*Archaeologia*, xxix, 405.)



3. *

4. Seal of De Quenci. (*Spelman's Aspilogia*, 1654, p. 67.)

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'with the heels of the arms upwards' commonly formed part of the ceremony of degradation from knighthood.

In connexion with the origin of coats attention must be paid to Canting, or Allusive, Arms (*arma cantantia, armes parlantes*), arms that tell their tale without words, *non verbis sed* REBUS: 'the ancient silent names.' These have been prompted by the name [Pl. LX, 1, 2], office [Pl. LXI, 1], personal peculiarity, deeds, abode, &c. of the first bearer, or of his overlord. They are very natural and convenient, and therefore exceedingly common, and form to a great extent the basis of early armory; probably far more so even than we know, for many allusions must have become unrecognizable owing to their ephemeral character, to linguistic changes, or to alterations in the names of the bearers. The arms of Thomas *Salle* (1422) were two *sal*amanders *sal*iant in *sal*tire. It will be seen that some of the arms discussed under the above ten divisions were obviously canting arms.

The coat was often a surer indication of consanguinity than the surname, the latter being frequently taken from, or dropped for, that of an estate, while the arms were retained. For instance, the Lyllings of Yorkshire, who were Lucys by blood, had by Richard I's time relinquished the name of Lucy and taken that of Lylling, East Lylling being their *caput baroniae*; but they kept the canting Lucy coat of three luces [Pl. LX, 1].

4. Heraldic Officers.

Heralds existed long before the rise of armorial bearings. They acted as messengers of war, peace, or courtesy; and, among other duties, superintended trials by wager and numbered the slain in battle. But a considerable stimulus was given after 1300 to the employment of these officials by the spread of the use of coat-armour, for, being closely bound up with military arrangements, its direction naturally fell to them. During the age of chivalry not only the sovereign, but also many of the magnates of the realm, maintained in their establishments heraldic officers, whose appointment, it is said, had to be approved by the royal heralds. Theoretically, it seems that dukes, marquises, earls, and viscounts, were allowed one

herald and one pursuivant; barons and bannerets a pursuivant only; though whether any such hard-and-fast rule ever obtained in actual practice may be doubted. We know that Sir John Chandos, banneret, kept his herald (*temp.* Edw. III), but this probably was in his capacity of Constable of Aquitaine. As with some of the king's heraldic attendants, these were frequently designated by the name, or a badge, or other token of the house they served. Such were 'Hereford herald' of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (*temp.* Edw. III), 'Eagle-vert pursuivant' of Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury (*temp.* Hen. VI), and 'Esperance pursuivant' of the Duke of Northumberland (*temp.* Edw. IV), from one of the Percy war-cries (cp. Shakes. *Hen. IV*, Act v. 2. 97). Wolsey kept a herald in his train, but in his time only two of the nobility did so: the custom was then dying out, and became extinct before the reign of Elizabeth. Private heralds are said to have had authority to grant, on behalf of their lords, Arms of Patronage and differences.

As their older title of 'Ancient' (*veteranus*) implies, heralds were often veteran retainers, who in their experiences in the battle-field, at the tournament, and on ceremonial occasions, had acquired a knowledge of matters armorial. Being sometimes otherwise uneducated men, it is possible that not a few of the fabulous and fantastic excrescences which defaced and afterwards discredited their science (the ascribing, for example, of coats of arms and 'gentility' to classical, Biblical, and mythical personages, and the explaining of colours, charges, &c. by allegorical or chivalrous fictions) are due to the twofold object on their part of exalting their calling and of flattering the vanity of their patrons. Still, it is likely that we owe to them many of the originals of the Rolls of Arms, and to one of the more cultivated among them the Chronicle Roll *Le Siège de Karlaverok*; and the historical poem *Le Prince Noir* was undoubtedly written by the herald of Sir John Chandos. Monstrelet, too, tells us that in compiling his *Chronicles* he made particular inquiries from kings-of-arms, heralds, and pursuivants, of their recollections; and Froissart says much the same. All these three grades of heraldic officials appear in existence

1. Margt. Peyton [*née* Barnard]. (*Window, Long Melford, Suffolk, c.* 1485.) Face restored from brass at Iselham, Cambridgeshire.

2. Eliz. Shelley [*née* Michelgrove]. (*Brass, Clapham*, 1526.)

3. Anne, Countess of Stafford [*née* Neville]. (*Window, Lichfield Cath.*, 1480.)

4. Wm. Longsword, E. of Salisbury; *d.* 1226. (*Effigy, Salisbury Cath.*)

5. A King-of-Arms, 15th cent. (*MS. Ashmole*, 764.)

6. ... Bacon. (*Brass, c.* 1320. *Gorleston, Suffolk.*) Legs restored from FitzRalph brass of same date and pattern.

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as far back as the reign of Henry III ; the superior title 'king-of-arms' (i. e. of armorial emblems), or its obsolete equivalent 'king of heralds,' being in England confined to heralds in the royal employ [Pl. LX, 5]. In the Middle Ages the appellation 'king' was given in France to several officers who performed special functions about the household of the sovereign. Such were *Roy de Ribauldes*, whose duties were somewhat those of a combined chief of police and magistrate within the royal precincts; *Roy de Merciers*, who acted as inspector of the wares, weights, and measures of the traders that attended the court. In Germany, when Henry the Fowler celebrated in 935 his victories over the Hungarians, *Reges Ludorum*, or 'Kings of the Triumphs,' were appointed to superintend the tournaments and other military exercises. Similarly, in England, we find letters patent granted in the reign of Richard II, and ratified by Henry VI, confirming the powers and privileges of a 'King of the Minstrels,' who appears frequently in our history before and after those times. So too the Minstrels of France were incorporated by charter under a king in 1330. The title of 'King-of-Heralds,' or 'King-of-Arms,' was an analogous usage; further accentuated, however, by the fact that, as the 'image of his master,' he was crowned and consecrated, and wore the coat of arms of the monarch whose proxy he was.

Edward III appointed two provincial kings-of-arms, 'Norroy,' and perhaps 'Surroy,' with armorial jurisdiction north and south of Trent respectively; and there are traces of some such arrangement still earlier, under Edward I. 'Clarenceux' came into existence in the person of the herald of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III, and Henry V created the herald of his brother, Thomas Duke of Clarence, a king-of-arms with the style of Clarenceux and with the office of Surroy, which however, as a title, if it ever existed, had already become extinct. In 1420, at the siege of Rouen, the king's heralds held their first regular chapter, and drew up a code of procedure for their own guidance. The same king nominated a herald for the Order of the Garter, and permanently annexed to that post a new and distinct one of Principal King-of-arms 'over all the servants of arms in England.' Many special royal

heraldic officials, variously named, appear and disappear in other reigns till as late as Elizabeth inclusive: examples of which are 'Agincourt king-of-arms' (Henry V, in commemoration of the victory); 'March king-of-arms' (Edward IV, from his earlier title, a practice then common with the sovereign); 'Falcon herald' (Edward IV, from one of his badges); 'Blanch Sanglier pursuivant' (Richard III, from his badge of the White Boar); but in 1605–6 the nomenclature of the heralds of the court finally settled down into what it is now.

In 1483 a further stage of organization was reached when Richard III granted a charter by which twelve of the most approved of the officers of arms of the crown were formed into a corporation, and endowed with 'a right faire and stately house' in London, thus instituting what came to be known as the Heralds' College or College of Arms. Garter, Principal King-of-arms, was appointed its head; under him were the two provincial kings-of-arms, Clarenceux and Norroy, and several heralds and pursuivants, each with his own appellation. The whole College was subject to the Earl Marshal, as President of the Court of Chivalry (see § 6), and the nomination, with the royal assent, of the officials passed into his hands. At the fall of Richard III the members of the College were turned out of their house, and after some seventy years of vicissitudes and temporary shifts for a home, they acquired from Queen Mary I Derby House. This was destroyed by the great fire of 1666, but the records were saved, and the College, as we see it now, was rebuilt on the same site from the designs of Wren.

The chief functions and rights of 'Garter' were to arrange ceremonials of embassies, to determine precedence, to grant armorial bearings to and order the funerals of peers, the two archbishops, the Bishop of Winchester (as prelate of the Garter), and Knights of the Garter; in addition to which he exercised jurisdiction concurrent with, but not independent of, the provincial kings in the conferring of coat-armour. Certain of these privileges, however, were a matter of controversy between him and his brother kings.

The duties and powers of a provincial king-of-arms within his province, or of a herald or a pursuivant acting as his deputy,

1. Sir John le Botiler, *c.* 1285. (*Slab, St. Bride's, Glamorg.*)

2. Margt., daughter of Wm., Baron Zouch, and wife of Robt., Baron Willoughby de Eresby, 1391. (*Brass, Spilsby, Lincolnshire.*)

3. Sir John Daubygne; 1346. (*Slab, Norton Brize, Oxon.*)

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were to investigate and record the arms, crest, cognizances (badges), 'antient words' (either *cris de guerre* or mottoes), and descent of every gentleman below the baronage, of whatever estate or degree, except Knights of the Garter; to prohibit any one from bearing another's arms, or those to which he had otherwise no right, or such as were not true armory (i. e. violated the rules of blazon), and from altering his arms without licence; to forbid (a regulation often disregarded) any merchant or other to put a merchant-mark (the prototype of the modern trade-mark) on a shield, the latter belonging exclusively to gentlemen of coat-armour; on receipt of the customary fee, to confirm arms to gentlemen ignorant of their coats, or to give arms to ungentle persons who were fit and deserving; to allow no coats of arms, flags, helms, crests, or anything pertaining to achievements, to be set up in churches at funerals of gentry below the peerage without his permission, and on such occasions to record the armorial insignia, the age, dates, and other information as to the death, burial, marriage, and issue of the deceased. Authority was also given him to enter all castles, houses, or churches, and demolish or deface any armorials there displayed which might not be in accordance with the laws of arms, whether on walls, windows, plate, jewellery, documents, flags, or tombs; and he had the disposing of tournaments and combats.

The heralds of the College acted as assistants or as deputies for the kings-of-arms. They are now all distinguished by names taken from places, which first appear with any degree of certainty as titles of officers of arms of the sovereign in the reigns indicated in the following list, though some were not continuous; but all have been so since the third year of James I. Several of them occur earlier as titles of the heralds of princes or other grandees. 'Windsor herald' (Edward III, perhaps so entitled because prior to the time of Henry V he served as herald of the Order of the Garter at Windsor); 'Chester herald' (Richard II, from the then newly-created principality of Chester); 'Lancaster herald' (Henry IV, from his duchy, or perhaps as old as Edward III's time); 'York herald' (Edward IV, from his duchy); 'Somerset herald' (Henry VII, in honour of his mother's

family, cp. 'Portcullis' below); 'Richmond herald' (Henry VII, from his earldom). One of the obligations of the heralds was the instruction of the pursuivants. Under Henry IV Lancaster was promoted to a kingship, but reduced to herald again by Edward IV.

The pursuivants (lit. 'followers') were probationary heralds. In the Age of Chivalry the proper period of their noviciate was seven years, the usual duration of 'apprenticeships' in trades and professions. They are named from badges: 'Rougecroix' (Henry V, from St. George's Cross, the badge of England); 'Bluemantle' (variously given as dating from Edward III or Henry V, and as so called from the tincture of the field of the coat of France, or from the colour of the mantle of the French king, or from that of the robes of the Order of the Garter); 'Rougedragon' (Henry VII, from the badge of Wales, which was displayed on one of the three standards borne by him in the Bosworth campaign); 'Portcullis' (Henry VII, a Beaufort badge). The royal blood he derived from his mother, the Countess of Richmond, a great-grand-daughter of Edward III in the Beaufort line, strengthened his claim to the throne: as the Portcullis was to the door or the barriers of a gateway, so this descent was, and thus the accompanying motto put it, an *altera securitas*.

The person of an officer of arms was sacrosanct: to offer violence to him was 'no lesse than sacriledge.' The scutcheon at his girdle, or, from the fifteenth century onward, his tabard, was his passport.

5. The Visitations.

As early as 1333 the Crown, to prevent bloodshed, had interposed between claimants to the same coat, stayed combat, and referred the question to judgement; and in 1386 there was legislation on the subject (see § 6). Henry V, when preparing for his French campaign of 1417, went a step further, and on June 2 of that year issued a proclamation that no man should bear arms without proving by what ancestral right or by whose gift he bore them, and claims were to be submitted to officers appointed for the purpose. Persons who had borne coat-

armour at Agincourt alone were excepted, as a particular mark of favour: the fact of their having been present on that occasion as armigerous being regarded as sufficient title to arms. How far the edict was carried out is uncertain. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries grants of arms were sometimes made direct from the Crown, occasionally through the Chancellor under the Great Seal.

'Visitations,' which may be described as heraldic Circuits in pursuance of the functions of the officers of arms (see § 4), are said, though on doubtful authority, to have been made in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII; but a systematic enforcement of armorial regulations throughout the kingdom under royal commission was undertaken in the periodical Visitations which began in 1528–9 and continued till 1686 at intervals of about thirty years. This space of time, virtually a generation, was selected as being 'within memory,' and within which living testimony was procurable and documents were unlikely to have got lost or destroyed. One cause of the measure was that the rising mercantile class and other of the 'meaner people' were inclined to assume without right or warrant the emblems of gentility. The Visitations, in fact, were social rather than military in their origin, for armorial bearings were, in the sixteenth century, fast ceasing to be a necessary, or even an important, factor in military array, though for purposes of display they were still prominent in the field. The dissolution of the monasteries, too, in 1536–9 probably enhanced the necessity for their continuance, since the genealogies of the landed and gentle class had been commonly recorded for purposes connected with ecclesiastical law and Church property, and deposited for security, in the religious houses.

The Visitations disappeared with the last Stuart king. According to the kings-of-arms this was due to the 'continued disturbances of the State which had kept many of the gentry from their seats'; but other reasons may be found. There had grown up a feeling on the part of some of the gentlefolk that the interference of the heralds was inquisitorial. Again, the older armigerous families of established position considered that they needed no official recognition, and conversely, objected

to the recognition of newly-risen families, holding that it discounted the value of heraldic sanction; and as time went on this feeling was intensified by the somewhat promiscuous grants of arms to the latter by the later sixteenth and the seventeenth-century heralds. The growth, moreover, of an upper-middle class with commercially acquired wealth, often far greater than that of the minor gentry, had tended to obliterate the hitherto obvious dividing line, largely of feudal origin, between gentle and simple: and this consideration is said to have influenced William III in refusing to issue a commission for another Visitation. Thus one of the causes of the establishment of the Visitations ultimately became one of the causes of their cessation: in attempting to bar the social aspirations of the *nouveau riche* heraldry was swamped by him. Other factors assisted to the same end. The Great Civil War and the Revolution of 1688 had produced in a measure a new line of social cleavage, vertical rather than horizontal, whereby class distinctions had become to some extent obscured by the more vital considerations aroused in the struggle for and against civil and religious freedom. Again, the College of Arms had fallen into temporary disrepute owing to dissensions among the officials, mainly arising from personal jealousies and from disputes about their mutual privileges and fees; and the improvements in the keeping of parish registers after the Restoration offered a substitute for the genealogical records of the heralds. The entries, indeed, in the later Visitation Books show that a considerable proportion of the ancient gentry ignored the summons of the kings-of-arms; some 'look'd on this matter as a trick to get money.'

The process pursued in the Visitations, which, in order to find the country gentlemen at home, were never taken during the sitting of parliament, and always between March and September, when country roads were least bad, was as follows. Commissions were issued by the Crown under the Broad (Great) Seal to the provincial kings-of-arms requiring them, or their deputies, to visit their provinces and summon all persons below the baronage, that used coat-armour or styled themselves esquires or gentlemen, to attend and prove their right thereto, or, if more

convenient, to receive the heralds at their houses. Circular letters were sent by the Earl Marshal to the lords lieutenant of each shire to direct the high constables or bailiffs of the hundreds and mayors of towns to aid the heralds by furnishing lists of the gentry, or reputed gentry, resident in their hundreds. The arms and descents submitted were accepted and recorded, or 'respited for proof,' or 'disallowed.' New families might apply for and, if suitable, receive grants of arms. Usurpers of armorial bearings or of the title of esquire or dignity of gentleman were forced to 'disclaim' by signing a declaration that they were not gentlemen, or they were disclaimed as such at the Assizes or Quarter Sessions, and the local officials were forbidden so to address them. They were further made 'infamous' by having their names and false pretensions proclaimed by the public crier and posted up in the market-place nearest to their homes. Occasionally the heralds appear to have been content merely to forbid by letter to a usurper the use of arms, and refrained from inflicting any public disgrace. But while impostors were in this way weeded out, there is no doubt that, rather than pay the heralds' fees, heads of families of unquestionable armorial position frequently disclaimed: an act which would not injure them locally where their true estate was well known. Many such simply disregarded the summons of the heralds. On the other hand, to be held up to open derision as a spurious claimant to 'gentleness' was a real rebuff to the *novus homo* who aspired to rise in social position as he had risen in fortune. In order to counteract the practice of disclaiming on the part of armigerous persons, the heralds were directed never to disclaim any such on account of inability to pay the fees, and the Visitation Books contain many allusions to pedigrees and arms entered gratuitously. The registration of *descents* by the visiting heralds was not confined to those of gentlemen of coat-armour.

Nowadays, when the term 'gentleman' is loosely used, with partly a moral and ethical, partly a professional, educational, and financial, and with or without an ancestral, connotation, it is essential for a right understanding of our subject to divest the idea of all later aggregations, and to appreciate the importance attached, prior to the eighteenth century, to the title as indicating

simply a definite status. That, in fact, was formerly the only meaning of the word; for the community was divided into two classes, *nobiles* or gentlefolk, embracing all grades from untitled gentry upwards inclusive, and *ignobiles*, or ungentle, those below, and the right to bear coat-armour was the distinguishing mark of the *nobilis*: a condition of society that still obtains in Germany and Russia. The subdivision into Major and Minor nobility, the former taking in all above knight, and the special degrees of 'Excellent' and 'Princely' accorded to those above viscount, are comparatively unimportant, and indeed irrelevant, niceties of distinction that do not in the least affect the main classification: between *nobilis* and *ignobilis* there was a great gulf fixed, it was the only social gulf, and it could only be passed by acquiring the right to bear arms.

It was a proviso of the Earl Marshal that arms should not be granted 'to any vyle or dishonest [*unhonoured*] occupation,' and there are instances of kings-of-arms being fined and even imprisoned for disregarding this order. The Visitation records made by the heralds were preserved in the College of Arms, and in questions of genealogy were and still are admitted as evidence in courts of law. The officers of Arms on their Visitations were empowered to impose fines, but we do not know that they did so. They could also cite before the Earl Marshal's Court those who refused to appear, which would entail on the recalcitrants trouble and expense at least (see § 6). A monopoly of armorial business of what kind soever was given to each king-of-arms within his own province: no painter, glazier, or other artificer was to meddle with heraldic subjects without his sanction.

6. The Court of Chivalry.

Closely allied with the College of Arms was the Court of Chivalry (*curia militaris*, or Court of Honour), of which the former was in some respects a subordinate department. Originally the Court of Chivalry was presided over by the two great military officers of the state, the Lord High Constable and the Lord Marshal as his deputy, and had cognizance of combats in which questions of treason, coat-armour, and honour were

involved, also of tournaments, and chivalry generally. Previous to 1386 the Marshal, in his judicial capacity, acted only as indispensable coadjutor of the Constable, but he was then empowered to sit as president, with or without the Constable, 'except in matters touching life and member,' when a Constable was appointed *pro illa vice*; and thenceforward his style was always Earl Marshal. His was the only earldom by office then remaining in England. He had authority to summon the officers of arms to assist him in cases relating to honour, coat-armour, and pedigree: for such interests, at first touching comparatively few, had become widely diffused, and special juridical machinery for dealing with them had become necessary. In consequence the Court of Chivalry came commonly to be termed also the Earl Marshal's Court, more especially after the regular succession of Constables ceased.

There is an instinctive tendency on the part of special tribunals to extend their jurisdiction, and only four years later than the above changes, owing to complaints of encroachment by the Earl Marshal's Court on the ordinary courts, a restricting statute was passed by Richard II, which provides us with a clear definition of its legal limits, though not of its heraldic powers. As regards the former, its purview was confined to 'causes and quarrels touching the honor of Gentlemen and the integritie of their coate-armors (which ought to be no lesse deere unto them than their owne lives), whereof the [common] lawes of this Realme do give no remedie nor action'; and for the decision of which the Court of Chivalry had the power to grant combat. Some sixty or seventy years later its position is thus defined by the Judges: 'The Constable and Marshal have a law by themselves, and the common law takes cognizance of it and concurs'; very much as it concurred in ecclesiastical law.

The Marshalship was in early times on the whole, but not regularly, hereditary. The tenure was in some cases for life, or *durante bene placito*, or merely for a limited period; while at times the office was placed in commission. It was not till 1672 that it became the permanent heritage of the Howards, and in 1677 of the Dukes of Norfolk. The hereditary High

Constableship was abolished as a standing office by Henry VIII in 1521, and thenceforward temporary Constables were appointed for particular occasions, as at coronations, and when a court of chivalry was held to superintend a trial by combat.

In the Middle Ages, when the circulation of money was imperfect, rent largely paid in kind, and transport indifferent, the sovereign, like other great landowners, in order to live upon the produce of scattered demesne manors, and for purposes of superintendence, was in frequent movement about the country; and the Earl Marshal, as one of the great officers of the royal household, accompanied the king in his peregrinations. The High Steward, the King's Coroner, and the Earl Marshal exercised a peculiar jurisdiction for a radius of twelve miles round the court wherever it might happen to be stationed for the time being; hence the Court of Chivalry was usually held within the 'verge' (*circle*), as the circumference of that radius was technically called. When the court was in residence at Westminster the Earl Marshal sat in the Painted Chamber; or in later times at his own house in the Strand, or in the Hall of the College of Arms. In time of war, however, it being the Marshal's duty to 'order battles' and lead the vanguard, the Court of Chivalry followed the army. When needful, peers and judges were invited to aid in its judgements, and, besides the heraldic officials, the Marshal was also assisted by a Doctor of Civil Law, who 'resolved doubts,' the Law of Arms 'being in most part directed by the Civil Law,' the procedure of which was followed in the Court of Chivalry. Its prison was the Marshalsea. One of the prerogatives claimed by the Court was that its officers were amenable to it alone, and it also possessed the right of arraigning before it persons who acted as heralds without authority.

Although the Court of Chivalry could order and arrange for a dispute to be decided by combat (a procedure granted only to the armigerous, and for the conduct of which there were fixed rules), still it often peaceably settled differences which otherwise would have been put to the arbitrament of the duel. Typical suits tried in this court between 1312 and 1732, and which were not referred to combat, may be summed

up as follows: (1) *A* accuses *B* of unwarrantably using the same arms as *A*, for which offence there 'lay a combat, even as for those things which are most sacred.' *B* (or *A*, as it may be) proves his superior right to them by descent and they are confirmed to him, the other being forbidden to bear them. The head of a house could even call on the Court to enforce the bearing of a difference by a cadet. (2) An action is brought at common law for calling traitor, and the common law Judges rule that, combat being the proper test, it is a case not for them but for the Marshal's Court. (3) *C*, a gentleman, is cited for striking *D*, whom he knows to be also a gentleman, and, as such, unfit to have such disgrace done him. *C* is bound over to admit his fault and to maintain *D*'s reputation against any injurious comment that may result from the insult; *D*, having drawn his sword at the time of the assault, leaves the court without a stain on his gentlehood. (4) *E* summons *F* for calling him a 'base, lying fellow,' &c. Defendant pleads that *E* is no gentleman, and therefore not capable of redress in this court. Investigation shows that he is, since the arms of his family are recorded in the archives of the College of Arms, and his pedigree is proved. *F* presumably is punished, but the judgement is not stated. (5) *G* challenges *H*, a baronet, as not fulfilling the conditions required [in those days, 1623] for that title, especially as regards 'gentry.' *H* wins his cause. The same defendant was also proceeded against for quartering with his own arms others to which he had no right. (6) *J* charges *K* with having slanderously alleged that *J* ran away in battle. *K* is cast in damages, fined, and committed to prison till he has made payment. (7) *L* complains that *M*, with intent to provoke a duel, has proclaimed that *L* is base-born and no gentleman, whereas he is a 'gentleman of ancestry' (see § 3). The judgement is not on record. (8) *N*, a gentleman, arraigns *N*, who bears the same name but is a merchant, for using the former's coat of arms though not related. The prosecutor gains his suit; yet, despite this, the defendant's family seem to have persisted in using the coat. This, however, was in the seventeenth century, when the Court was losing its hold. (9) The Earl Marshal proceeds against the executors

of *X* for displaying at his funeral arms not legally his. This suit, which took place in 1732, after the Visitations had ceased for more than a generation, was an unsuccessful attempt to resuscitate the Court. The prosecution was treated with ridicule, and although fines were imposed it was found impossible to exact them.

The severest punishment administered by the Court of Chivalry was 'solemn disgradation' from knighthood, which apparently was inflicted with great reluctance, for only some half dozen instances are known. It was not necessarily decreed or conducted by this Court, which, however, carried out the ceremony in the case of Sir Francis Michell, in 1621. He had been accused by the Commons before the Lords, and convicted, of official corruption, and the Lord Chief Justice, on behalf of the Upper House, pronounced sentence of degradation and directed the Earl Marshal's Court to execute the penalty. The officers of the College of Arms were ordered by the Earl Marshal to attend at Westminster in their tabards. The culprit was placed on a scaffold erected in the King's Bench Court, wearing the emblems of knighthood, his belt, gilded sword, and gilt spurs, many of the peers being present as spectators. A herald then read the sentence which deprived him of the title of knight. That done, his belt was cut and the sword fell to the ground, his spurs were hacked from his heels and flung away to right and left, his sword was broken over his head and the fragments treated in the same way: thenceforth he was to be reputed 'an infamous, errant knave.' This was in the main the regular ceremonial on such occasions. Michell was further adjudged incapable of employment, fined £1,000, and confined to his own house during the royal pleasure.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the Court of Chivalry at its best and strongest. The insight given by the Hundred Years' War into the privileged position of the aristocracy in France doubtless contributed to a demand on the part of the quality in England for the maintenance of a court that dealt with questions in which points of honour were concerned; with mere personal affronts, with duels rendered unavoidable in quarrels which 'for want of witnesses could

not be decided otherwise,' and with distinctions of rank wherewith armorial rights and regulations were closely interwoven. During the social tension, also, among the upper classes that prevailed throughout the Wars of the Roses the demand continued; but after they ceased the Court of Chivalry tended to sink more and more into the position of an heraldic office, and by 1600 it was steadily becoming an anachronism. Its revival by Charles I for arbitrary purposes ultimately only assisted its decline, and in the following century it fell, says Blackstone, 'into contempt and disuse.' The causes of its decay were to a great extent the same as those that brought the Visitations to a close, to which may be added the constant overriding of its proceedings by the Court of King's Bench, to which there had always been an appeal from the Earl Marshal: the common law was ever jealous of the civil law.

It is easy to smile at the Court of Honour in its later days, when it had done its work and outlived its use: but for many generations it was in England the localized expression of that high moral code and that self-restraint inculcated by medieval chivalry in matters of conduct outside indictable crime and with which the ordinary law of a land cannot successfully interfere. That code was undoubtedly in a great measure based on Christian teaching, but was probably more operative on the knightly mind through its presentment in the form of *noblesse oblige*. The mere existence of a court of this nature must have acted as a check; and the urging, in a relatively rough stage of social development, of such precepts among the 'Nine Virtues of Chivalry' as to be merciful to all, to do no harm to the poor, to show hospitality especially to strangers, to protect maid or widow from insult, not only refined the higher classes to whom they were directly addressed, but must have percolated downwards and affected in some degree the lower strata of society by the example of their betters; while in such as enjoined the keeping of a promise to foe no less than friend, or forbade the slaying of a prisoner or killing in cold blood, we may see the foundations of International Law and the germ of the Geneva Convention.

7. Summary.

The history of English armory falls into two periods. The earlier is that in which the armorial shield was in actual use in warfare, and, roughly speaking, ranges from 1150 to 1500. As body-armour improved, the general tendency was for the shield gradually to diminish in size, till the large three-foot shield, or thereabouts, which covered the whole trunk of the solely mail-clad knight of the opening years of heraldry [Pl. LX, 4], shrank to the small heater-shaped shield of some eighteen inches long, or less, that served his partly plate-encased descendant as little more than a buckler, or stroke-warder [Pl. LX, 6]. The discarding of the shield by mounted men began as early as the latter half of the fourteenth century, when plate was gradually asserting its entire predominance over mail; and on the whole its diminution proceeded *pari passu* with its growing disuse, till by the end of the fifteenth century it had virtually disappeared as a weapon. So far as is known, the Aldeburgh brass of 1360, at Aldborough, Yorkshire, is the last in which a shield appears as part of the equipment; the Wantone brass of 1347, at Wimbish, Essex, is the first in which the effigy bears no shield. By ordinary foot-soldiers it was retained much later, but they, as non-armigerous, do not concern us here. During the first 150 years (1150–1300) of this period heraldry may be said to have been in process of formation as an exact science; from 1300 to 1500 may be regarded as its golden age, the zenith being reached in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II.

With the final disappearance of the shield as an implement of war, about 1500, began the decadence of armory; both the shield and its bearings survived in their genealogical and decorative uses alone. In the days of the service-shield any alterations in its form naturally were prompted by practical considerations of defensive utility, and when in those days it was applied to ornamental purposes, as a rule it was represented in the shape used at the time; yet even then there was an inclination to adapt its outlines to architectural and aesthetic fashions, more particularly after 1400 when the shield

was dropping out of use. Subsequently to 1500, however, its configuration became entirely arbitrary, and was dictated not merely by the prevailing character of contemporaneous art, but, within that limit, often was further distorted by the fancy or the caprice of the individual artist. Again, the shield, so long as it was borne in battle, obviously was of more consequence than the charge: the latter therefore was forced to conform in figure or in posture to the contour of the former; but when it fell into desuetude actuality of contour vanished from the purely decorative escutcheon. All manner of impossible and fantastic types appear [Pl. LVIII, 9–16]. Some of these were suggested by their architectural environment. Others were due to a new practice, which arose after the abandonment of the war-shield had rendered accuracy in its representation of less moment and its conventionalization permissible; that of drawing first the charges and then the outline of the scutcheon to fit them. This method had one merit: it reduced to a minimum the amount of unoccupied field, and therein incidentally obeyed a traditional rule of medieval armory; though the obedience was of an inverse nature, for it was the need for conspicuousness that had compelled a large and bold depiction of the charge upon the war-shield, and the bearing was fitted to the field, not the field to the bearing. Through the various stages of the classical revival the conformation of shields continued to follow architecture, and occasionally we find identical reproductions of Greek [Pl. LVIII, 17] and Roman models [Pl. LVIII, 18, 19]. The sources of the examples given on Pl. LVIII are:—Fig. 9, the Barnard woodcarvings at Abington Hall, Northants, 1485–1508; Fig. 10, the monument of Abbot Ramryge, at St. Alban's, 1529; Fig. 11, the arms of Anne Bullen, from Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, Pl. XVI; Fig. 12, the Great Seal of Katherine Parr, *Archaeologia*, v. 232; Fig. 13, a stone carving of the arms of Edward VI over the entrance at Penshurst Place, Kent; Fig. 14, the Great Seal of Edward VI, 1547; Fig. 15, the achievement of Elizabeth, Harl. MS. 6096; Fig. 16, Leigh's *Accedence of Armorie*, fol. 16 b, 1562, apparently a *cartouche*, or oval shield, on a bracket; Fig. 17, cp. the shields of the Amazons, Petit, *Dissertatio de Amazonibus*, Amst. 1687, p. 180 et seq.; Figs. 18 and 19,

Bolton's *Elements of Armorie*, 1610, p. 147, and cp. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1890, ii. 80.

Although broad-based shields were not unfrequently employed in war contemporaneously with pointed shields between 1200 and 1500, still one striking normal difference in the decorative escutcheons of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries is the usual widening of the base, a tendency to which had set in from about 1450 onwards. This alteration was introduced for greater convenience in quartering a number of coats, a custom uncommon before 1500; numerous quarterings moreover would make a shield too indistinct and confusing for military use. Later, the canon of filling the field came to be disregarded, and charges decreased in their proportions relatively to the size of shields, the shapes of which remained fanciful. This new phase of armorial and artistic deterioration had already set in under the later Tudors, but proceeded from bad to worse in and after the following century. To this was added the further fault of multiplying and crowding charges to confusion.

Curiously enough, as shields became unreal and conventional, animals charged upon them tended to become unconventional and quasi-natural. This sacrifice of dramatic to literal truth was by no means an improvement from an emblematic point of view, for by being naturalized in appearance they lost in symbolical force. Thus there was a debasement not only in the shields, but also in the bearings. The conventional armorial lion, for instance, of the Middle Ages symbolizes in its perfected type all the peculiar features and powers of the beast, which to that end are grotesquely exaggerated, in order that its presentment may be as terrific as possible. Its majesty, ferocity, agility and rampageousness, are intentionally pourtrayed with extreme and grim extravagance. Its inevitable activity is indicated by the sinuous leanness of a body scarcely thicker than the many-tufted tail with which it was supposed to lash its fury, to cover up its tracks, and to describe around itself a charmed circle in the sand as a ring-fence to enclose its prey; while being 'armed and langued,' that is having its teeth and tongue and eagle-like claws depicted, of a different colour from the

rest, those aggressive and ravening members are brought into special prominence [Plates LIX, 1, 2; LVIII, 2–4. There is a particularly beautiful lion on the stall-plate (*c.* 1421) of Sir Miles Stapleton, K.G. (d. 1364) in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.] And, apparently, common sense was not shocked; presumably because a lion was rarely seen in England. The same change from conventionalization to realism affected also inanimate charges, a case of which is shown in Pl. LVIII, 20–23, which illustrate the *manche*, Fig. 23 marking a return to the unconventionalized form of the actual sleeve in which the bearing originated.

The substitution of the concrete for the abstract dealt a further blow at genuine symbolism. As an example of this may be adduced the picture, rather than arms, granted in 1605 to the Gardeners' Company of London. Two centuries before, a spade, or a rake, would have sufficed; but here we have a landscape, embellished with flowers, and in the foreground a man digging. The eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century saw armory at its worst. In the motley collection of objects, heraldic and pictorial, that crowd the coat devised for Lord Nelson are jumbled together four ordinaries and a cross flory, blazing bombs, a seascape, a palm-tree, a shipwreck, a ruined battery, and an inscription. A rich and varied store of debased heraldry is to be found throughout the whole series of English book-plates, which did not come into vogue till armorial decay had set in.

It requires some effort of the imagination for us fully to realize to how great an extent heraldry in its numerous branches, aspects, and applications, in one way or another according to the age, entered directly or indirectly into the lives of our forefathers prior to the eighteenth century. Its importance was unquestioned and unquestionable, its significance intense. In battle and in duel, in pageant and in joust; on armour, weapons, shields, and flags; on housings, harness, equipages, and tents; in the crest, the badge, the device, the livery, and the *cri de guerre*; in architecture, whether military, ecclesiastical, or domestic, without doors or within; on the gate-house of the castle, on the chimney-hood of the hall; on

wall or in window of manor-house and church; on roof-beam or on ceiling, on pavement and on tomb; on tapestry, on furniture, on panel, and on plate; on the clothing of both sexes, and on the vestments of the priest; on jewellery, on bindings, in illuminations, and in seals; in the class-barrier fixed at table by the 'Salt,' and in many an ale-house sign; in the figure-heads and names, and on the gunwales, masts, and sails of ships [e.g. Pl. LXII, 1]; at the Visitations of the officers of arms, and at the gorgeous heraldic funerals of the gentry; in the armorial allusions in which early literature abounds (one of the indications that a knowledge of heraldry formed no small part of the education of gentle men and women), and in the political songs of the people where great men's badges did duty for their names; at every turn and in every guise it met the eye or ear. The yeoman, who served as hobilar, archer, or billman, and who, as ungentle, bore no coat, read his place in camp and field by the bearings on the banner or the pennon of the commander in whose train he fought, in all likelihood the only language he could spell. And long after armory ceased to be a factor in military array, its social and genealogical import remained vigorous. To the diverse sentiments of the jealous gentleman of ancient lineage, of the new-created gentle, of the aspirant to gentlehood, and of the rejected of the heralds who had been 'disclaymed to be noe gent,' it appealed as a very real thing full of precious meaning. Coat-armour was the *preuve de noblesse* of the possessor, it was the hall-mark coveted by the parvenu.

A LIST OF SUCH ROLLS OF ARMS AS HAVE SO FAR BEEN PRINTED.

Name of Roll.	*No. of Coats.*	*Period or Description.*	*Reference.*
'1st Matthew Paris'.	88	*temp.* Henry III	*Historia Minor Mat. Par.*, ed. Madden, Rolls Series.
'Glover'	218	*c.* 1240–5	ed. Nicolas, 1829, and Armytage, 1868.
'Planché'	696	End of Hen. III.	*Genealogist*, 1886–7.
'Walford'	180	*c.* 1275–80	*Archaeologia*, xxxix. 380; Leland's *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, 1715, ii. 610.
'Dering'	324	Thirteenth century (?) . .	*Reliquary*, 1876–8.
'St. George' . . .	677	*c.* 1280–95	*Archaeologia*, xxxix. 418, and ed. Armytage (but wrongly named 'Charles'), 1869.
'Charles'	486	*c.* 1280–95	*Archaeologia*, xxxix. 399.
'Camden'	253	*c.* 1286	*Genealogist*, 1879.
'Original Camden' .	270	*c.* 1278–85	*Archaeological Journal*, 1882.
'Segar'	212	*c.* 1280	*Genealogist*, 1880.
'1st Nobility' . .	93	Barons at Salisbury Parliament, Sept. 21, 1297.	*Notes and Queries*, 1876.
'2nd Nobility' . .	39	Barons at London Parliament, March 8, 1299.	" "
'Falkirk'	111	Those present at the battle, June 22, 1298.	*Reliquary*, 1875.
'3rd Nobility' . .	33	Barons at London Parliament, March 6, 1300.	*Notes and Queries*, 1876.
'Carlaverock' . .	106	Bannerets, &c. at the siege, July, 1300.	ed. Nicolas, 1838, and Wright, 1864.
'Guillim'	148	*c.* 1300	*Genealogist*, 1877.
'Nativity'	79	Knights made (?) after Feast of Nativity, *c.* 1303–7.	*Reliquary*, 1875.
'Harleian'	191	*temp.* Edward I or II . .	*Genealogist*, 1886.
'Parliamentary' . .	1110	*temp.* Edward I or II; grouped under counties, perhaps an official record of those eligible for Parliament as knights of the shire.	Nicolas, 1829; Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, 1827; and Mores, 1749.
'4th Nobility' . .	13	Barons at Westminster Parliament, April 28, 1308.	*Notes and Queries*, 1877.
'1st Dunstable' . .	235	Those present at Tournament at Stepney (not Dunstable), 1308.	*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 1837.
'5th Nobility' . .	20	Barons at Westminster Parliament, April 27, 1309.	*Notes and Queries*, 1877.
'Boroughbridge' .	214	Those present at the battle, March 16, 1322.	*Genealogist*, 1884; and Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, 1830.
'Kent'	60	*temp.* Edward II or III; Kentish coats.	*Notes and Queries*, 1875.

Name of Roll.	*No. of Coats.*	*Period or Description.*	*Reference.*
'Powell'	627	*temp.* Edward III	*Reliquary*, 1889–90.
'2nd Dunstable' . .	136	Those present at Tournament at Dunstable, 1334.	*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 1837.
'Cotgrave' . . .	554	*temp.* Edward III; an Ordinary of Arms, i.e. classified according to the bearings, and possibly an official record.	ed. Nicolas, 1829.
'1st Calais' . . .	116	Commanders at the siege, 1345–8.	ed. Mores, 1749.
'2nd Calais' . . .	117	Knights made at the capitulation, 1348.	*Notes and Queries*, 1875.
'Grimaldi' . . .	162	After 1338	*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 1834.
'Willement' . . .	601	*c.* 1392–(?) 1397	ed. Willement, 1834.
'Rouen'	107	Those present at the siege, 1418.	*Notes and Queries*, 1880–1.
'6th Nobility' . .	84	Arms of the Nobility, *mid.* Henry VI.	„ „ 1880.
'Atkinson' . . .	88	*temp.* Henry VI	*Genealogist*, 1877.
'Jenyns'	409	20th Edward IV	Original Norman-French version in *Antiquary*, 1880; English translation in *Reliquary*, 1885–6.
'3rd Parliament' .	50	Lords spiritual and temporal at Westminster Parliament, Feb. 5, 1515.	ed. Willement, 1829.

NOTE.—The first five 'Nobility Rolls' are all by the same hand, and the numbers of coats here given do not, of course, represent the numbers of persons attending these parliaments: a coat being tricked in the Rolls only on the first occasion of its appearing.

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N.B.—Of the last two books each is the complement of the other: the former gives coats and names, the latter names and coats.

VI

SHIPPING

1. Shipping before the Norman Conquest.

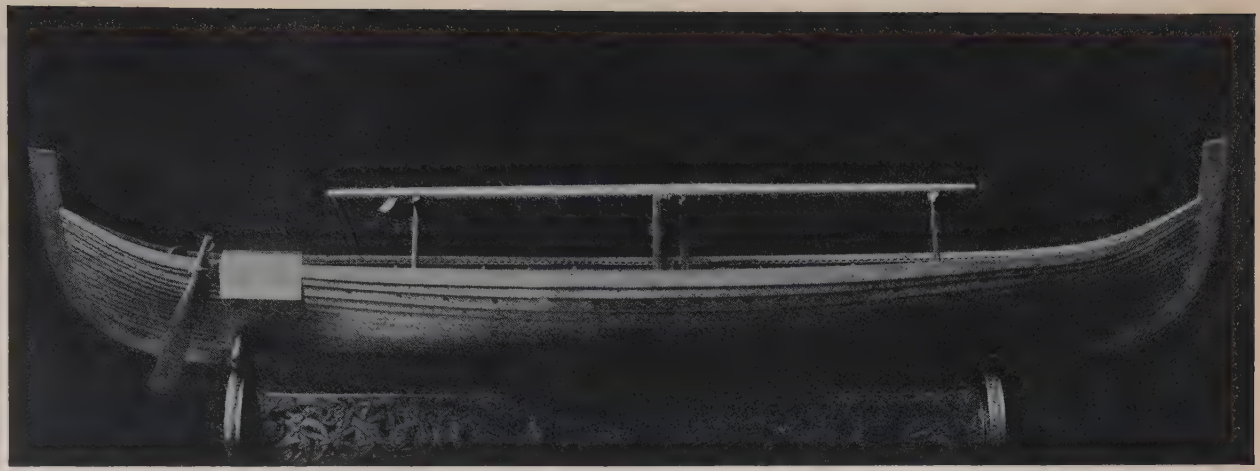
If we leave aside such vessels as may have been used by the ancient Britons, as well as the fleet, whatever its character, that Caesar describes as assisting the Veneti against him, we may refer the beginning of the English navy to the institution of the *Classis Britannica*, or *Classiarii Britannici* (according to the respective readings of French and English antiquaries), by the Roman Caesars to ensure the command of the Channel and the North Sea and the protection of the limiting shores. Historically therefore, in heirship if not in institutions, we may regard our navy as directly descended from that of Rome; like it a supreme factor in the forging of the empire, and only exceeding its forerunner in the extent of its sway. The exact date of the formation of the British division of the Roman fleet is unknown, but it is supposed to have been created by Claudius at the time of, or shortly after, his invasion of Britain in A. D. 43. We know that, later, its ports were *Bononia* (Boulogne)—the headquarters—*Dubris* (Dover), *Rutupiae* (Richborough), *Portus Lemanis* (Hythe), and other places, and that at a still later period it grew so large that it was divided into twelve sections attached to additional stations extending down the Channel on the Gallic shore. It is, perhaps, hardly a flight of antiquarian fancy to see in the stations on the 'Saxon Shore,' rather than in Teutonic institutions, the germ of the combination afterwards famous as the Cinque Ports, a germ stimulated into growth by strategic position, tradition of naval warfare, and habit of seafaring life. All our knowledge of the *Classis Britannica* has been gained from funeral inscriptions, and from them we learn

that there were corporations of carpenters, caulkers, sail-makers, and others at *Regnum* (Chichester) in connexion with it. Of the ships we can only surmise that they were of the Mediterranean galley type with such modifications as experience showed to be necessary in a wilder sea than the Mediterranean, but it is possible that certain local forms and peculiarities are survivals from this forgotten source. The name of one ship, *Triremis Radians*, is preserved in an inscription, and should be mentioned as the earliest name of a Romano-British ship that has come down to us. The *Classis Britannica* affords us the earliest example of the influence of sea-power in the history of these islands, since by controlling it Carausius was enabled, in A.D. 286, to declare himself Emperor of Britain, and he and his successor Allectus retained their independence as long as they held the command of the Channel.

The Roman galley with its one mast and sail, large, heavily built, beaked for ramming, and essentially depending on human muscle for motive power, died out without establishing itself, being an extraneous product brought by foreigners and going with them. It was different with its successor, common in the main to Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, who may be considered together as the Scandinavian group. The Scandinavian ship, galley of course, but sufficiently well designed, stable, and weatherly to be used also as a real sailing ship, possessing characters to which ship designers have returned to-day, became native here with its inventors, and remained for centuries the model of the northern war-ship until changes in naval arms and tactics modified shipbuilding—distinctly for the worse. However, it must always be remembered that, side by side with these military ships described and illustrated in histories, there was invariably the plodding cargo-ship constructed not for speed but for profit, tub-shaped, round-bowed, and flat-bottomed, unobtrusive, but in the end the only foundation on which military navies can be built up. The galleys bulk largely in Roman history, but behind them were merchantmen of 250 tons; the Northmen were traders before they were ravagers, and in the Anglo-Saxon laws we find customs and commercial regulations, including a primitive insurance, which imply the existence

of a relatively large trade. The turn of the cargo-ship came in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when, by the revolution due to the introduction of artillery, consequent tactical necessities, larger crews and longer voyages, with the additional stores needed, it ousted the galley model and remained in possession until the present century, much to the injury of sea-going qualities.

The plate given here of what is known as the Gökstadt ship [Pl. LXI, A] found in a burial-mound, the grave of some forgotten chief, in Southern Norway in 1880, and assigned to the ninth century, will illustrate generally the qualities of the vessels in use for many centuries until military developments, especially the gradual use of cargo-vessels in warfare, led to larger and heavier ships of higher freeboard. This Viking ship, clincher-built, caulked with hair and iron-fastened, was 66 feet long on the keel and 78 feet over all, with 15½ feet extreme breadth, and the reader will notice the beautiful proportions, the sharp entry and run fore and aft, the great sheer, or rise, at stem and stern, and the general combination of lightness, strength, and grace. All the Scandinavian ships conformed to this model, although classified under many different names; swiftness, except in the *knerrir*, or cargo-carriers, being the chief aim of the builders. Ships were usually from 50 to 150 feet, or more, in length; one belonging to Cnut the Great is known to have been of at least 300 feet. They had from twelve to thirty-five 'rooms' or seats for the rowers, and the larger vessels were decked, with cabins below and a raised platform aft. Externally they were painted white, blue, red, or any combination of colours, with the warriors' shields, also of different colours, ranged round the gunwales, both to save space and to serve as a protection. Both ends of the vessel were alike, so that it could be steered from either by the paddle used everywhere until the invention of the rudder. Standards and pennants are spoken of in the Sagas, and there was one mast with a square sail of woollen stuff, white, or in coloured stripes of blue, red, and green. There are references to fighting tops on the masts, but they were probably a late introduction. As the two-armed iron anchor was certainly used by the Romans, as it is shown in the Bayeux Tapestry, and as



THE GÖKSTADT BOAT.

(From the Restored Model at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.)

the Northmen learnt the use of the sail from the Romans, they may be supposed to have copied the anchor, at first stockless, but there is no positive evidence on the point. Ships were named, and the name usually bore a direct relation to the figure-head which was invariably present in the shape of a wooden, or metal and gilt, dragon, or head of an animal or of a bird. The poetic sense latent in the Northern races expressed itself in such names as *Deer of the Surf*, *Sea-king's Deer*, and *Horse of the Sea*, while a sail was sometimes called *The Cloak of the Wind*. It was in vessels such as these, really much more seaworthy than their successors in later centuries, that the Anglo-Saxons came to England, that the Danes invaded the Anglo-Saxons, and that William I crushed both, although in his time signs of change were already apparent; it was also in such vessels that the Vikings ranged the Mediterranean, and discovered Iceland, Greenland, and America.

Anglo-Saxon continental commerce extended from the North German ports to the Bay of Biscay, although it was not carried wholly in English ships, but the existence of a regular system of port dues implies a trade of some magnitude. From the time of the complete settlement shipbuilding had probably been retrograding, and the only instance known to us of any improvement is in the 'long ships,' designed and built by Alfred, pulling sixty oars, and described as being swifter and steadier than the Danish. The Jutes, Saxons, and Angles had never been so bold a race of seamen as the Danes, and the settlement of the latter was needed to stimulate commerce and navigation. It seems probable that, as a whole, the navies of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings were based on a more or less permanent state organization, and were larger than those of the continental powers, whose fleets, outside the Mediterranean, hardly existed in a specialized form. But English superiority in this respect was not necessarily due to greater political sagacity, but to political and geographical needs which automatically enforced certain consequences.

It is unnecessary to notice here the continual maritime battles the Anglo-Saxons fought, usually to their loss, with their oppo-

nents; or to do more than mention the extraordinary legends associated with Edgar (A.D. 959-975), who is said to have asserted the sovereignty of the British seas, and to have had from 3,600 to 4,800 ships, numbers which imply at least 180,000 to 240,000 seamen and soldiers. More authentic is Æthelred's levy, in 1008, of a vessel, or an equivalent payment in money, from every 310 hides of land, the earliest precedent for the legality of ship-money.

2. The Cinque Ports.

Whatever may have been the cause of his remissness, Harold's loss of the command of the Channel, and his neglect of the elementary strategic principle of attacking the enemy on his own coasts, cost him crown and life. The greater part of Harold's fleet seems to have been carried away by his sons, and the course of events indicates that for some years the Conqueror had practically no navy. In such circumstances the association known as the Cinque Ports—of Dover, Romney, Sandwich, Hastings, Hythe, and other places—came into prominence, and although accustomed to render especial service to the Crown before the Conquest, now, by the habit of comparative discipline, co-ordinated effort, and comradeship, became for two centuries the backbone of English fleets, and sometimes with its own strength alone successfully maintained an equal maritime struggle with France. The Cinque Ports fleet was the analogue of the Channel Squadron of to-day, always mobilized or ready for mobilization.

One result of the Conquest was that the Channel, from being a field of combat between opposing races, became a waterway uniting two portions of the same empire; under our Angevin kings the small kingdom of France was ringed round by English possessions or independent feudatories, nor had the French king direct or indirect control over one foot of seaboard until Philip Augustus seized Normandy in 1204. Therefore the services of the Cinque Ports were chiefly rendered during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; previous to that era their prosperity and loyalty were fostered by charters and privileges

accorded by successive monarchs, and their efficiency perfected by training in crushing piracy (an occupation in those early centuries merely a branch of trade), in supplying naval contingents for Scotch and Welsh wars, in transporting troops and other duties. When their full strength was called upon they were required to furnish fifty-seven ships and some 1,300 men for fifteen days at their own expense, and for any longer period at the expense of the Crown. The Portsmen come first into national prominence during the reign of John, to whom, with the exception of one short interval, they remained faithful during the entire reign, and it was mainly owing to their support that he was able to retain his crown. In 1217 the Cinque Ports justified the exemptions and privileges that had aroused the jealousy of other coast towns by winning the first decisive sea-battle in English history. A single land-victory may decide a campaign, but rarely a war; the results of a sea-victory are frequently more far-reaching and may mean the ruin or the salvation of a nation. In this instance the immediate consequence of the engagement off the South Foreland, on August 24, 1217, was to ensure the independence of England and the retirement of the French invader. Within less than three weeks—on September 11—Lewis of France, his communications destroyed, signed a peace and left England. Seldom in history can cause and effect be so clearly connected.

The Cinque Ports fleet was sometimes called 'The Royal Navy of the Cinque Ports,' but during the whole period of its existence there was always available, side by side with it, a force, more or less strong, of royal ships and galleys and the whole strength of the kingdom in merchant vessels. It was of these latter, if we exclude the reign of Henry V, that the bulk of the fleets consisted to the time of Henry VIII; only one-thirtieth of the ships collected by Edward III for the reduction of Calais belonged to the Crown, and probably ordinary fleets were often without any royal vessels at all. As the royal ships belonged exclusively to the king, and had to be maintained from the royal revenues, it was to his interest to use, as much as possible, the Cinque Ports and merchantmen, since the latter only required some temporary additions to convert them into fighting ships.

The steady growth of commerce, due to successful war and the extension of English dominion through four centuries, tended to the increase of merchantmen available and to a diminution of the importance of the Cinque Ports. An ordinance of Henry II in 1181 forbidding the sale of English ships to foreigners implies not only a recognition of the value of a native marine but also that shipbuilding was a flourishing industry. The creation of a great Crown navy by Henry V, the beginning of a new era, the increase in the size and cost of ships, and the physical changes caused by the sea to the injury of the Ports, ended in the destruction of their national utility. The days when 'they were enfranchised that they might be a guard and a wall between us and foreigners' were over; a Cinque Ports squadron was in commission from September, 1444, until April, 1445, which must be almost or quite the last instance of the employment of the Ports in their associated capacity. At the head of both the civil and military business of the Five Ports was the Warden, at first always the governor of Dover Castle, afterwards usually a courtier, and now commonly a politician. But in the Middle Ages both his duties and his privileges were very real, rendering him an important personage, and frequently leading to friction with the Lord Admiral with whom he was often in conflict.

3. Shipping from William I to Henry V.

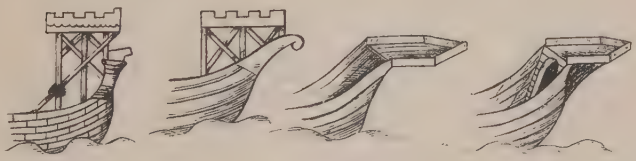
It will be convenient to consider here as a whole the technical details of shipping between the Conquest and the reign of Henry V, when begins the development of the modern ship. Besides the spur of growing commerce and its corollary, the fact true in all ages, that the larger a merchantman the cheaper relatively it is to work, the most important stimulus to advancement was derived from the southern races during the Crusades. From the dawn of human progress until the rediscovery of America the Mediterranean was the centre of maritime advance; the art of building, improvements in rigging and sailing, increase in size, the application of tactics to the formation and handling of fleets in action, maritime codes,

signalling, and other details, all had their origin there. While England was using 50 and 100 ton vessels, Barcelona, Venice, and Genoa were building three-decked ships capable of carrying hundreds of tons of cargo and hundreds of passengers; in such circumstances the Crusades, by bringing the Northerners into contact with more civilized races, necessarily tended to advancement, although the effect was not immediate since England had not then any use for large ships. English ships, however, must frequently have been larger than is usually supposed, if it be true that there were 300 or 400 persons on board the *Blanche Nef* when she was lost with Henry I's son William in 1120; and in 1170 a chronicler records the loss of another vessel with 400 people in her.

The chief alteration in the military navy, following the Conquest, was the gradual introduction of the cargo-ship into the fighting squadrons instead of leaving battles to be fought out, as before, between the long ships. The introduction of the sailing ship of high freeboard was the knell of the rowing ship, which was also racially distasteful to men of Northern origin when they were called upon to do the work of slaves for pay instead of plunder. Galley could board galley, but could hardly board the loftier sailing vessel which, before it carried artillery, it could at most try to ram and sink while exposed to a plunging fire: added to this, events tended more and more to send fleets or ships to sea in winter, a duty for which the galley was utterly unfit, while the fighting proportion of the crews grew too large for the limited space afforded by a rowing vessel. Therefore, after the reign of Edward I, galleys fell steadily out of use until, by the end of the fourteenth century, they had disappeared except for special purposes. Often the number of men in the crew of a galley of this period shows that it must have depended chiefly on sail-power, although the name remained, as it remained as late as the eighteenth century, to describe a particular build capable of using sweeps on occasion. Moreover, English sovereigns often lessened their expenses by allowing merchants to hire men-of-war in time of peace, a usual proceeding down to the reign of Elizabeth, and no sane merchant would freight a galley unless expense was no object.

By the reign of John *cogs* and 'great ships' were in use, besides many others doubtless presenting only variations in size or detail. The barge, a favourite Norman build, being the enlarged Viking long ship, sometimes with two decks, using oar and sail, and brought over by the Conqueror, was adopted here and was probably the model of the semi-fighting, semi-cargo ship which, under various names, made up the bulk of the fighting fleets. There was no accurate method of measuring tonnage, which was simply calculated by the number of tuns of Bordeaux wine a ship carried when laden, but by 1214 ships of 80 and 100 of such tuns were not uncommon, and, in the reign of Edward III, of 200 tons and upwards. A ship found in 1823 in an old channel of the river Rother at the west end of the Isle of Oxney, buried in nineteen feet of deposit, belongs perhaps to this period. Apparently a merchantman, she was assigned by the antiquaries of 1823 to the reign of Edward I, and is supposed to have been lost in the great storm of 1287, when old Winchelsea was destroyed and the course of the Rother changed. She was built of oak and single-masted, round-bowed and flat-floored with no keel, and had one cabin forward and two aft. That she was open amidships when found does not prove that no deck, either permanent or temporary, originally existed. She was caulked with moss, which points to great antiquity, and her boats, of which the remains were found near, were caulked with hair. Altogether, except in her greater depth, she resembles the modern Thames barge which, with the Newcastle 'keel,' is probably a survival of Plantagenet shipping. The rigging of these vessels was simpler than that of to-day, because they had only one mast with one square sail, but the names and things in use were much the same. Forestays and mainstays took the place of shrouds which, with rattlins, were brought into use in the fourteenth century, the modern backstay dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The yard was fitted with braces, and the sail, usually coloured and sometimes decorated with armorial bearings, had brails and reefs, while additional canvas was provided in the shape of one or more bonnets which laced on to the foot of the sail. The hull was painted red or other

1. Ship of 15th cent. (*Life of Rich., E. of Warwick*; *Cott. MS. Julius*, E. iv.)



2. 3. 4. 5.

6. 7.

8. Dry Dock.

2–7. Illustrations, from various original sources, showing the evolution of the forecastle through 400 years.

Leonard Barnard delt

colours, and was sometimes ornamented with heraldic badges or designs in gilt. Sheets, cranelines and bowlines, trusses, collars, racks, davits, halliards, boltropes, seizings, hawsers, shivers, pulleys, spikes (handspikes), ribands, hatches, foothooks, buoys, and windlasses, are all words and things in use now. Some form of pump or baler ('wynding-balie'), worked by means of the windlass, was used to free the ship of water; the bowsprit did not come into use until the fifteenth century, but is sometimes seen in a rudimentary form with the forestay made fast to it. The modern rudder was introduced towards the end of the thirteenth century; it appears in an English MS. of about 1300, and on the seal of the town of Damme of 1309. From the fact that it is shown in Northern MSS., seals, and coins earlier than in those of South French or Italian *provenance*, it may be presumed to be a Northern, perhaps a Flemish, invention.

If we may judge of the appearance of ships from the illuminations in MSS., the high Norman stem and stern posts were still in use during the greater part of the period under consideration. The necessities of warfare, the need for more space and a position of greater advantage than the deck, led to the introduction of 'castles,' temporary structures of wood in the bow and stern, which could be put in place during a cruise and afterwards removed. A fighting-top was also slung or fixed at some point along the mast. The gradual evolution of the temporary castle into the later forecastle and poop can be followed with sufficient precision from the MSS. available [Pl. LXII, 2–7]. At first we have a skeleton structure of beams, lashed to the stem and gunwale, supporting a lofty platform; then the stem is bent outwards and the platform lowered and brought over it; next the platform becomes a permanent part of the projecting stem which is widened out into a geometrical shape—square or pentagonal—and juts out far beyond the cutwater. As this would make the ship pitch heavily and take water on board in tons, a further step was either to lengthen the keel and body of the hull to bring it under the forecastle, or to bring this in board. Both processes, but chiefly the latter, operated to effect the change towards the modern type, leaving the beakhead of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries as a survival

of the obsolete Norman prow. The development of the poop was more direct, since it was brought altogether inboard at an earlier date. To fill in the body of the forecastle and poop with cabins, afterwards to increase the number of these cabins by having two or three decks of them in the structures fore and aft, was a natural proceeding as crews increased and voyages became longer.

4. Medieval Warfare, Tactics, and Organization.

Among the Mediterranean sea-powers treatises on tactics and the art of naval warfare had been in use for centuries, but in the North methods of fighting were still primitive. Owing to the limited range of offensive weapons the object of commanders was to come to hand-grips without delay. The battle of 1217 is the earliest instance that we can trace of any appreciation of tactics; there, the English worked to windward and fell, in superior force, on the weathermost French ships, obeying the tactical axiom of concentrating on that part of the enemy's fleet which can least easily be assisted, a maxim acted upon by Howard in July, 1588, by Monk in June, 1666, and by Nelson at the Nile. How little any such principles were then understood may be appreciated from the fact that the French commander, a fighter of long and varied experience under both crowns, did not dream of the English purpose, but thought that they were bent on attacking Calais in his absence. Actual fighting was of a simple character; as the vessels closed the archers plied their bows, and then boarding was attempted, and for this purpose grappling irons were an essential portion of equipment. Fighting was done by the knights and soldiers, the office of the seamen being only to handle the ship; the conquered were usually thrown overboard unless valuable for ransom. Stones and javelins were hurled from the tops, and Greek Fire was known in England in the reign of Richard I, although there is no recorded instance of its use on board English or French ships. Heavy engines for throwing stones were fixed on deck, and such things as quicklime thrown from windward to blind the

enemy; there were three cannon on board the *Christopher* in 1338, but the use of artillery did not practically affect tactics or shipbuilding during the fourteenth century. As fireships (of course of Mediterranean and classical origin) were used by the Flemings in 1304 they may be presumed to have been known to the English.

Ships and men for the fleets were obtained by impressment, the practical exercise by the sovereign of his right to the goods and services of all his subjects, nor, at this period, did it bear hardly upon those liable to it. The men were paid threepence a day, and, towards the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, a 'reward' of sixpence a week; in view of the value of money this was a very high rate, higher than they have ever had since. Eventually the specialization of the fighting ship and their growing political power freed owners from the burden, while the men, being helpless, continued exposed to a demand systematically exercised under conditions arbitrarily fixed by force to their disadvantage. One result of the impressment system was that there was never any continuous command of the Channel other than that which the Cinque Ports could maintain. At each outbreak of war ships and men were pressed, and dismissed at its close, or as soon as the sea was cleared of the enemy; thus the work had to be done over again every time. From a petition *temp.* Richard II we learn that in the flourishing times of Edward III there were 150 merchantmen fit for the line of battle—to borrow a later phrase—and whatever the imperfections of the system, they did not prevent England from maintaining a consistent maritime superiority. The whole of the Hundred Years' War, a war not of defence but of conquest, was only possible as the result of controlling the Channel, just as in later centuries the Elizabethan war with Spain was fought out in the Netherlands, on the Spanish coasts, and in the West Indies, and the wars with Louis XIV and Napoleon on the Continent, as the consequence of sea ascendency over a wider area. Merchantmen hired by the Crown received 3*s.* 4*d.* a ton per quarter, but owners had frequently some difficulty in obtaining payment. It was probably due to this difficulty that, in 1347, taxes on

merchandise known as tunnage and poundage were levied specifically for naval purposes; during subsequent reigns it became customary to grant these duties for the life of the monarch, who was expected to maintain the navy from them.

There were three ship's officers, a rector, or master, at sixpence a day, a constable, and a steersman, all in command of the seamen only; down to 1296 fleets were directed by officers called 'governors,' or 'keepers,' or 'justices,' &c., but in March of that year William de Leybourne is styled Admiral, the earliest French date for the title being 1244, though it was of earlier use still in the Mediterranean. An Admiralty Court having jurisdiction in maritime causes, hitherto decided by the ordinary law courts, was constituted about 1350. The institution of this court was coincident with, and perhaps the consequence of, the first real claim of an English sovereign to be 'lord of the English sea and of the passage of the sea,' but the claim was one of legal jurisdiction rather than of political supremacy as in the seventeenth century. A famous commercial code of the period issued by Richard I, and known as the Laws of Oleron, was only a recompilation of maritime customs and practices which had taken form in classical antiquity, but the ordinances made in 1190 on discipline and punishments in the fleet may be considered the first 'articles of war' of our navy. The framers of the Norwegian code of 940 had the honour of humanizing the brutal law by which all wrecks and their cargoes belonged to the lord of the littoral or the crown; the example was followed by Richard in 1190 and then by Philip Augustus.

The English archives teem with complaints of, and attempts to remedy, the piracy which was constant for many centuries, and of which the profitable continuance proves the existence of a relatively large commerce. Privateering was not recognized by the issue of letters of marque until the reign of Henry III, and no doubt both before and after that period much that the victims called piracy the victors called privateering. Previous to the adoption of the system of letters of marque it was open to any private individual to fit out a ship to go cruising, and of course with no check but that of a complicated international

protest on its operations; and these would be limited only by its capacity for attack. When the Crown had a share in the privateer's profits it was to the interest of the sovereign to put down unauthorized endeavours, but it was not until 1585 that persons fitting out privateers had to give surety in the Admiralty Court not to injure neutrals or allies.

Besides the colours in which a ship was painted it was also decorated with the banners and pennons of the captain, the knights serving on board, and the especial banner of the owner or of the town to which it belonged. The Bayeux Tapestry, anterior to the period of heraldic bearings, shows two-, three-, four-, or five-pointed pennons in blue and yellow, or red and blue, and some having a St. George's cross, and others a yellow cross. Many early cognizances were religious in signification, but when heraldic bearings became hereditary, towards the end of the thirteenth century, coats of arms grew purely temporal in construction. The St. George's Cross is said to have been made the national badge by Richard I, but must have been in general use long before his reign. Equivalent to the present 'H.M.S.' were the words 'of Westminster,' 'of the Tower,' and 'of Greenwich,' added to the ship's name, the second being used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the third in the early sixteenth century. Even in the late seventeenth century the expression 'of Whitehall' was sometimes used to designate a man-of-war. Abroad ships' names were almost invariably religious in form, the vessel being placed under the protection of a saint; here, the custom never took more than partial hold, and they were more often secular. In the sixteenth century many men-of-war names were derived from the royal badges and arms, e.g. *Antelope, Bull, Dragon, Sun, Rose in Sun, Falcon in Fetterlock, Golden Lion*; others figurative, as the *Mary Rose* in honour of Mary Tudor sister of Henry VIII, the *Katherine Pomegranate* and *Katherine Plesaunce* after Katherine of Aragon (whose device was a pomegranate), and the *Elizabeth Jonas* which Elizabeth herself named as indicating her escape from her sister Mary.

The navy was under the direct control of the king, but from the reign of John we find an official called the Clerk, or Keeper,

of the King's Ships, who attended to the duties of ordinary civil administration. The post existed in a modified form, in which the holder was called Clerk of the Acts, until the suppression of the Navy Board, to which he acted as secretary, in 1832. The royal ships were kept in the southern ports, especially Rye, Winchelsea, and Portsmouth; at the last place there was in 1212 a kind of dock, or enclosed space, to receive the ships, as well as storehouses for their belongings. The earliest lighthouses, or 'nightflares,' in Britain were the two erected by the Romans on the east and west cliffs at Dover. There must have been many lights kept up by religious houses during the 350 years following the Conquest, and we know of Winchelsea in 1261, the Ecrehou reefs in 1309, St. Catherine's (I. of Wight) 1314, of which part of the tower still remains, and Spurn Head 1427.

5. Henry V and the Fifteenth-century Navy.

The fifteenth century is remarkable for the advance in shipbuilding, both in the size of vessels and a corresponding addition in masts and sails, tending by the close of the century to an approximation to the modern type [Pl. LXII, 1]. This was probably due to the fact that the navy of Henry V included a number of large Genoese ships captured while in the French service which provided a new model for English shipwrights. Moreover, the commercial prosperity of the first half of the century resulted in a larger seaborne trade, therefore the trading classes were ready to adopt improvements for which they could now find use. In 1439 and 1451, respectively, there were at least thirty-six and fifty merchant ships of 100 tons and upwards, and including ten of 300 tons and upwards, numbers which compare favourably with the first half of the reign of Elizabeth, while some principal ports, as Newcastle, Yarmouth, and Bristol, are absent from the lists from which these figures are taken. Two of the Dartmouth ships were of 400 tons each, the *Grâce-Dieu* of Hull was as big, and in 1460 William Canynge of Bristol possessed a fleet which contained one vessel of 400, one of 500, and another of 900 tons. Besides the trade with the opposite continental coasts, there had been,

even in the preceding century, a considerable Icelandic and Baltic trade, and English vessels were now (1422) sailing to the Mediterranean, while a large passenger trade with Spain existed in the shape of the conveyance of pilgrims desiring to visit the shrine of St. James at Compostella. The earliest sailing directions we possess are assigned to the reign of Edward IV, and include the coasts of Spain and Portugal.

We find in the reign of Henry V not only the first approach to the powerful standing navy of later centuries, but also that he was the first king completely to discard the galley and to build great sailing ships of from 400 to 800 tons. Such a size necessarily required more sail area, and two masts, becoming three and four by the end of the century, were common. The former single mast, the Low Latin *medianus*, was moved forward by the South French and Mediterranean races and became the *mât de misaine* (Ital. *mezzana*=foresail), or foremast, but the North French, English, and Northern races generally, moved it aft and called it the mizen mast. As it was impossible to build such vessels—depending solely on sail propulsion, and loaded with tophamper in the shape of forecastle and poop which were now solid, permanent structures —on galley lines which would have afforded no stability, the broad deep cargo ship became, subject to modifications, the model of the next three centuries. Moreover, the introduction of artillery placed on deck farther enforced, if it did not originate, the change, since the long, narrow, shallow galley could never carry broadside guns, and in fact even in the broad cargo ship their presence necessitated the 'tumbling home,' or transverse narrowing in of the upper works, so characteristic of the old ship, and was the immediate cause in this and many other ways of the specialization of the man-of-war. It was, however, only the final acceptance of a transition that had been long progressing in the substitution in warfare of the ship of high freeboard for the narrower and faster one depending on human muscle for movement. Henry V possessed the finest navy in the world, and undoubtedly intended that it should continue so, but national feeling was not ripe for the support of a strong navy in time of peace, and the destruction that commenced

within a week of his death soon annihilated it. During the reign of Henry VI such fleets as were sent to sea were of armed merchantmen procured by contract, and, although Edward IV took some steps towards reconstituting a Crown navy, it was not until Henry VII occupied the throne that the work was regularly carried on.

6. The Navy under the Tudors.

We are quite ignorant of the intermediate steps, but the inventories of Henry's ships show that they possessed three and four masts, with topmasts as separate spars although fixed, and in one instance a top-gallant mast. Each mast had its corresponding sail, and there was now a spritsail on the bowsprit, and poop and forecastle were lofty and roomy structures. Possibly there were no intermediate steps, and the ships of Henry VII were in direct descent from the Mediterranean models captured by Henry V, but his biggest ship, the *Regent*, of 600 tons, was built by his order on the lines of the French vessel in which he came over to Milford Haven in 1485. Portholes, probably circular openings with no form of portlid, were introduced in the second half of the century, and rows of cannon laid on wooden beds armed the upper deck and the two or three tiers of forecastle and poop. The guns were *serpentines*, breechloading so far as the powder charge was concerned, and using a leaden, stone, or iron ball of from four to six ounces, or firing iron 'dice,' pieces of iron an inch and half square, but all the old equipment of bows and arrows, javelins, &c., was still carried.

Two great steps towards the maintenance of a navy were taken by Henry VII. One was that he began the bounty system (in which he had been preceded by Venice, Genoa, Portugal, and Spain), by which builders of new ships were allowed a deduction from the customs of the first voyage as a reward for their enterprise. At first an uncertain amount, it became, in the sixteenth century, a regular allowance of five shillings a ton on vessels of 100 tons and upwards, and, down to the reign of Charles I, to which it continued, of five shillings

on vessels of 200 tons or more. Henry also founded our first permanent dockyard. Earlier kings had possessed storehouses, and the medieval dock was simply a mud and brushwood fence round a ship hauled up on the mud above high-water mark; Henry V had, as well as storehouses, some sort of workshops at Southampton, that place and the river Hamble flowing into the Solent being the naval headquarters during his reign. Henry VII not only founded Portsmouth Yard, but built there, in 1495, the first dry dock known in England. Whether it was the product of native ingenuity or copied from a foreign model is unknown; it was constructed of wood, only the dockhead being of stone, and when a ship was inside, the space between and outside the gates was filled in with gravel [Pl. LXII, 8].

The first English Navigation Act, itself later by a century than one enacted in Aragon, was due to Richard II. Both it, and another passed under Edward IV, had little effect, but Henry VII made a more serious effort to encourage English shipping by protective legislation. An Act of the first year of his reign was framed on the same lines as the famous one of 1651, in that wines and other articles were to be imported only in ships owned by English subjects, and for 'the most part' manned by native crews. The only change in administration to be noticed during this century is the institution of the office, probably copied from Spain, of Lord Admiral in 1406. Theoretically the Lord Admiral governed the navy during peace and led it in war; in reality, during the fifteenth century, it was a mere court office filled by relatives of the sovereign or by powerful nobles who had no practical relation with the navy.

Heretofore the navy had played a part of utility rather than of necessity, of offence as an auxiliary of the army rather than an independent factor in warfare, but during the reign of Henry VIII external circumstances were compelling change. Not merely had France become an organized kingdom, but the union with Brittany in 1491 had given it control of ocean ports and command of a race of fine seamen, with the result that the French kings were already organizing a navy with

a better prospect of success than had yet existed. Again, on the Continent, the era of the professional soldier was beginning, and the nucleus of a standing army was to be found in all the greater of the western states, while Spain, in addition to its army and the naval growth due to its transatlantic commerce, controlled the maritime power of the Low Countries. Neither inclination nor necessity had hitherto disposed Englishmen to permit the formation of a permanent military force, yet the militia levies were no match for trained veterans, especially since improvements in artillery and musketry had impaired the value of the English archer. Moreover, the discoveries of Spain and Portugal, the great apparent, but really illusory, maritime strength of the former power, and the attempts of England herself in northerly latitudes, all turned men's minds to the question of sea-power with a wider understanding of its possibilities than had been grasped before. Although all these causes were at work in increasing the importance of the navy, they would have failed perhaps in effect but for that natural genius for the sea, the inheritance of the race, which enabled the men of the sixteenth century to appreciate and use the weapon Henry's sagacity prepared for them, nor was it of slight consequence that the king himself happened to delight in the sea and ships and took a daily interest in matters relating to them. During Henry's reign at least eighty-five vessels, great and small, and thirteen row-barges of twenty tons each, were added to the navy, while his father had been content with five ships. There had been nothing like it before, except in the reign of Henry V, who had made a similar—relatively greater—increase, but in that instance the effort died out with the man to whose initiative it was owing. Henry V was too soon, but when the man again arrived the moment had also come, and the seed then sown has flourished into a mighty tree.

Of the eighty-five ships, twenty-six were bought from Italian or Hanseatic owners, and thirteen were prizes, so that forty-six were built in the thirty-eight years of the reign. In building there was a great advance, as may be seen from a comparison of the *Mary Rose* and the *Tiger*, belonging respectively to the beginning and the end of the reign. The *Mary Rose* differs

THE 'TIGER,' 1546.

(*Anthony's MS., Add. MSS.* 22047.)

little, if at all, from vessels of the preceding century; the *Tiger* [Pl. LXII, A] is a flush-decked ship with no superstructures, built probably on finer lines, heavily armed on a gun-deck (that is to say on a deck below the upper deck), and looking a better sea-boat than many later vessels. Possibly not a few of these improvements were due to Henry himself, as the Spanish ambassador wrote to the Emperor in 1541 that the King was building according to a model of which he was the inventor, but the great shipwright of the time was James Baker, whose memory lived long among naval men as the first to adapt English ships to carry heavy guns. But it will be seen from the illustration of the *Anne Gallant* [Pl. LXIII], of the same date as the *Tiger* and three of her sisters, that the old fashion of lofty forecastle and poop was still in favour, and it survived the improved model, becoming exaggerated in comparison with that of the reign of Henry VIII. It was now growing usual to build vessels carvel-fashion—with the planks laid edge to edge—as being stronger than the clincher-built ships used from very early times. Decoration was obtained chiefly by banners and standards, but red, green, yellow, or white cloths were used round the large basket-shaped tops, and painted wooden shields were ranged round the sides. As well as being carved and gilt the hulls were painted various colours, including ash, or timber, colour which became more common under Elizabeth, and finally developed into the yellow regulation coat above water of the ships of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Edward IV had provided 'jackets,' which may have been some sort of uniform, for the men, and the custom was continued by Henry VII, and extended by his son during the first years of his reign when he had a full treasury. Clothes supplied by Henry VIII were in white and green, the Tudor colours, and made of cloth for the sailors, and of satin and damask for the officers. In connexion with the question of uniform, it may be mentioned that a contemporary painting of the destruction of the French *Cordelière* in 1512 shows her men in red doublets.

More enduring than Henry's experiments in shipbuilding, which, in some respects, hardly outlived him, were his improve-

ments in armament. Hitherto vessels had carried serpentines weighing some 250 lb., and firing balls that could have had no effect whatever against a ship's sides, but the king introduced on shipboard heavy guns, from the land service, weighing 2,000 and 3,000 lb.; the results were seen in the Elizabethan war when the Spanish ships were hopelessly outmatched in the weight of metal thrown in a broadside, and the heavy armament, in proportion to tonnage, of English men-of-war became a tradition continuing almost to the present day. Guns were now frequently mounted on wheeled carriages and were elevated or depressed by quoins, and some light pieces were carried in the tops, as is the custom now. Sometimes serpentines were placed, two or three or more together, on a frame, answering to the modern quick-firer; cross-bar shot and inflammable mixtures, shot from cross-bows, to set an enemy's sails on fire, were in use. The ideal fighting ship is one which possesses high speed combined with the greatest power of offence and greatest capacity for resistance, qualities which naval constructors of the present day are vainly trying to obtain in conjunction, for one or the other has more or less to be sacrificed. Shipbuilding in the sixteenth century, and for long afterwards, was a purely empirical art, but we see in Henry's ships the first consistent attempt with these objects in view. Whether he obtained speed we do not know; the defensive capacity, the stoutness of the sides, must have been as great as that of any probable antagonist; the high offensive power was certainly attained.

Besides re-organizing and improving the combatant branch, Henry re-created the administration. Doubtless experience had shown the insufficiency of the one Clerk of the Ships, and several times during the reign additional but temporary help had been provided. In 1546 the duties of the medieval officer were divided among a Treasurer, Comptroller, and Surveyor, together with himself still remaining as Clerk but in a subordinate capacity. The organization thus established by Henry has been altered and enlarged, but remains to-day the same in principle as framed by him. The king also drew up the first English set of regulations for the guidance of fleets at sea, some such orders being necessary now that navies were doing

The "Ann Gallant," 1546. (*Anthony's MS., Add. MSS.* 22047.)

Leonard Barnard del.

something more than merely transporting troops, or fighting an action and returning home; these instructions dealt with the relative positions of ships in action, boarding, the use of flags, councils of war, and the duties of officers. Portsmouth dockyard was enlarged, and Woolwich and Deptford yards founded in 1512 and 1517; shipwrights were obtained by impressment, and received from twopence to sixpence a day in addition to food and lodging. Soldiers were still carried on board ship, but seamen were now fighters as well; their pay was 5*s.* a month, but in 1546 was raised to 6*s.* 8*d.*, being still relatively less than in the preceding century, and officers received the same pay as the men, with the addition of a certain number of 'dead pays,' value 5*s.* each, according to rank. The sailors were allowed a gallon of beer a day, and, except when necessity compelled, water was not carried by men-of-war until the middle of the seventeenth century, and even then a money allowance was given when it was used instead of beer. It will be seen from this brief outline that Henry VIII refashioned the navy in the direction of shipbuilding, armament, and administration. He may be said to have created it, since from his reign it has been recognized as the especial national arm, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the Spanish war at the end of the century was won by him, for Elizabeth never showed any real understanding of sea-power, and but for Henry's legacy of ships, of organization, and, above all, of the tradition of action by sea, if she moved at all in that direction would probably have moved too late.

The reigns of Edward VI and Mary call for little remark beyond a note that the often-repeated statement that they neglected the navy is incorrect. Edward VI was particularly interested in it, and if, for various reasons, it remained nearly stationary or even somewhat decreased in strength, it still could compare not unfavourably with that of the first fifteen years of the reign of Elizabeth. In 1550 the Regency proceeded to carry out another reform purposed by Henry VIII, by forming a Victualling Department to take the place of the many individual agents who had hitherto acted independently. The question of the acknowledgement of English supremacy of the

narrow seas, indicated by striking flag and lowering topsail, again comes into prominence during these two reigns; it was enforced against Flemings and other nations, sometimes at the cannon's mouth, but the matter was very tenderly treated with France, nor was the claim ever admitted by that power.

A marked feature of the reign of Elizabeth is the increase in merchant shipping. The bounty on new ships was now always 5*s.* a ton, but the growth of commerce, the stimulus of warfare, and a larger ocean trade encouraged shipbuilding to an extent hitherto unknown. As fleets were composed mostly of armed merchantmen, with a nucleus of royal ships which undertook all the real fighting, it was important that the government should know how many vessels were available. Therefore there are several returns of the number of ships of 100 tons and upwards which enable us to measure the maritime strength of the kingdom. As the differentiation of the man-of-war from the merchantman only commenced with the use of artillery on shipboard, and was hardly strongly marked as yet, such vessels were able, theoretically, to take their place in the fighting line, although in practice the desire of masters and owners to save their ships from injury or destruction rendered them of little value in actual warfare. But for trading voyages merchantmen were, and always had been, armed on the same principle, if in a lighter fashion, as men-of-war, since they depended on themselves for safety against pirates and other enemies. The earliest return remaining is of 1560, and, although incomplete, shows 76 ships of 100 tons and upwards; the next surviving one of 1577, also incomplete, gives 135, and the next, of 1582, is 177, figures which show a steady growth; and it is an instructive commentary on them that in 1580 Philip's ambassador here wrote to his master that the whole of the trade between England and Spain was carried on in English ships. Increase of shipping necessarily encouraged seafaring life, and legislation was directed to the same end. To assist the fisheries, the nursery of seamen, was an obvious method, and an Act of 1548, which ordered fish to be eaten on two days a week under pecuniary penalties, was now renewed and enforced; other privileges were granted to

fishing vessels and the Navigation Acts were more rigidly applied. A return of 1582 shows that there were upwards of 16,000 seamen, fishermen, and masters of ships available at that time. Except in 1588, when some 10,000 or 12,000 seamen were in pay, none of the Elizabethan fleets required more than from 2,000 to 6,000 men, so that the resources of the kingdom in this respect were more than equal to the demands made upon them. The prospect of plunder attracted men to the fleets without much necessity for impressment, but pay was raised to 10*s.* a month in 1585. In 1582 and 1602 scales of pay for officers were drawn up in place of the dead shares and rewards allotted to them under Henry VIII.

The rights of the seamen to prize money remained very indefinite during the centuries under review. In early times, when there was little distinction between warfare and piracy, no doubt the captors kept whatever they took, but as the power of the Crown grew stronger the sovereign claimed all or part of the prize. John allotted prize money, but not, apparently, on any other principle than his own decision as to the amount to be given; Henry III appears not to have expected more than a share. In the contract-fleets of the reign of Henry VI the whole proceeds were granted to owners, officers, and crews; and in the agreement which Henry VIII made with Sir Edward Howard in 1512 the King reserved to himself half the profits of captures and all the ordnance taken. By a very old custom, of which the origin was lost in antiquity, the men were entitled to pillage for themselves on the upper deck of a prize, as soon as she was taken, without being called to account; and each of the superior officers was allowed an especial perquisite, e. g. the captain, the personal belongings of the other captain; the master, the best cable; the gunner, a piece of ordnance, &c. Edward VI gave £100 to the crew of a man-of-war that took a French galley, in which, of course, there would be little or nothing to plunder. During the reign of Elizabeth it was common for privateers to be sent to sea on a joint-stock principle, the proceeds of captures being divided into thirds, of which one went to the owners of the ship, one to the victuallers, and one to the officers and men, the last being in

lieu of wages. Elizabeth promised as little as she could, and usually sought means to evade her engagements, but in the Cadiz voyage of 1596 the men were to be granted, over and above their wages, a third of the value of all prizes and merchandise, except treasure or jewels, which she reserved to herself. In Elizabeth's reign also the question of the Right of Search and of the seizure of contraband of war come into prominence, and led to difficulties with neutral powers, although both claims had been exercised from the thirteenth century and perhaps earlier. An Order in Council of 1589 for the first time clearly defined what was to be understood as contraband, which included all articles necessary for the equipment of ships used in warfare by land or sea, and foodstuffs.

During the last months of Mary's reign the dockyards were working energetically, and the same activity continued, for a time, after Elizabeth's accession. But an analysis of the navy list of her reign shows that, exclusive of rebuildings and prizes, only twenty-nine vessels of 100 tons and upwards were added to the navy between 1558 and 1603, notwithstanding eighteen years of warfare and the fact that fleets were now acting thousands of miles from home. The earlier of the big ships built under Elizabeth were large vessels of the type favoured in the middle of the century—short, broad, and with lofty superstructures; in later years vessels of from 200 to 400 tons were preferred, and even in the larger ones the tophamper was greatly diminished. Three large ships, of from 800 to 1000 tons each, were built in 1559 and 1560, and one of them was the first *Victory* in the English navy. Unfortunately no drawing of her exists, but she doubtless resembled, on a larger scale, the illustration here given of an Elizabethan man-of-war of the first half of the reign [Pl. LXV], had the same lofty poop, ponderous beakhead, and probably a much higher forecastle; from an incidental reference in Hakluyt we know that her waist, the lowest part of the vessel, was twenty feet above the water-line. About the middle of the reign, when Sir John Hawkyns became chief of the naval administration, ships were constructed on finer lines than hitherto, longer in proportion to their breadth, and sat lower in the water, and were therefore much more weatherly than their

The "Black Pinesse," in which Sir Phil. Sidney's body was carried to England.
(*From the copper-plate by Derick Theodor de Brijon*, 1587. *Brit. Mus.* C. 21. f. 13.)

Leonard Barnard, del.

predecessors. Even with these improvements the total length, including the great rake, or overhang, of the stem and beakhead forward and the stern post aft, was little more than three, or three and a half, times the beam. The galley had a length of seven or eight times her beam, thus approximating in proportions to the modern steamer. Externally ships were painted black and white, or green and white, or red, or timber-colour; figure-heads, usually a dragon or a lion (probably taken from the supporters of the royal arms), were in use; carved figures of men and beasts, brackets, and gilding, decorated both the outside and the inside; cabins were painted and upholstered in green and white, and the royal arms in gold and colours were on the stern. Many improvements were introduced. Topmasts were now raised or lowered instead of being fixed, sheathing by means of a layer of tar and hair covered by thin planking became usual, but lead sheathing, copied from the Spanish navy, had been used here in the reign of Edward VI; chain pumps and a patent log, very much like one now employed, were other inventions. Ingenuity was further turned to maritime matters with the result that centreboard boats, paddlewheels, diving-dresses, submarine boats, unsinkable ships, and the elevating screw for ship guns were all described in more or less detail. The large ships had two decks, an upper one and a gundeck underneath; about 1590 a third, called a false orlop, or platform, and laid in the hold to carry cabins and stores, was brought in; this deck, 'the orlop' distinctively of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did not at first run the whole length of the ship. Pillars to support the decks, and riders to strengthen the sides, were other additions.

A ship was divided transversely, on both upper and lower decks, at the terminations of the forecastle and poop by 'cobridge heads,' i. e. bulkheads, strong barricades of timber pierced for musketry and armed with small guns pointing fore and aft. These were fortresses to which the crew might retire and still defend themselves if the ship was boarded. Gravel ballast was used, and the quantity necessary in such crank ships left little room for stores, one reason for the disease prevalent at sea, and the failure of so many of the Elizabethan enterprises due to

a too early return home from want of provisions. Moreover, a large portion of the space left in the hold after the ballast was in place was taken up by the cooking galley, a solid structure of bricks and mortar built upon it. With their cables, ammunition, and sea stores on board, men-of-war could seldom carry provisions for more than three or four weeks, so that a fleet of victuallers attended every expedition.

Among the dockyards, Portsmouth sank in importance owing to the want of skilled labour and the expensive necessity of sending from London all the stores required except timber. Chatham took its place, for although ships were moored in the Medway and victualling stores were lodged at Rochester in 1550, it was not until 1565–70 that wharves and storehouses were built. But as no dry dock was constructed at Chatham during this reign, and as that at Portsmouth was allowed to go to ruin, Woolwich and Deptford were the most important yards for building and repairs, while most of the seaworthy ships were laid up in the Medway; they were moored between Upnor and Rochester, and, from 1585, protected at night by a chain drawn across the river from the first-named place, where a fort also existed. One of the chief shipwrights, Peter Pett, belonged to a family which produced a continuous line of builders from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Mary II; another, Mathew Baker, son of the James Baker previously mentioned, devised, in 1582, the first rule for the measurement of tonnage, which had hitherto been a matter of estimation and comparison.

The flag shown on the ensign staff of the ship from the Rawlinson MSS. [Pl. LXV] is the Tudor green and white, a common flag during the sixteenth century; the St. George's Cross was the national flag, but only men-of-war were permitted to wear it in the main-top. Falcons, lions, and other badges were also used on flags, and the Cadiz fleet of 1596 was divided into four squadrons, each distinguished by its flag of crimson, white, blue, and orange-tawny, this being the first indication of the later fleet divisions of the red, white, and blue. In action the men on deck were hidden by waistcloths of painted canvas running round the bulwarks, as shown in

ELIZABETHAN MAN-OF-WAR.

(*Rawlinson's MSS., Bodleian.*)

the drawing of the *Black Pinnace* [Pl. LXIV], or protected by large wooden mantlets running on wheels.

One more important feature of the reign of Elizabeth remains to be noticed—the growth of a science of naval strategy, the natural corollary of fleet action as a principal instead of a subservient arm. The new position taken by the navy brought into the service men who in the preceding centuries would have been commanders in French wars, and who now brought to bear in a fresh field the genius for warfare that had made the English feudal army one of the finest in Europe. Although great soldiers like Edward III and Henry V, and such a naval statesman as Henry VIII, had little to learn as to the use of sea-power within the limits marked out by their political aims, the eighteen years of war with Spain show a progressive and more general understanding of the laws governing naval war. Drake's West Indian raid of 1585–6, utterly wrong in principle, is succeeded by the same leader's magnificent attack on the Peninsular coast in 1587, a cruise conducted entirely in accordance with modern maxims and on which his fame must mainly rest. In 1588 the proposed ruinous division of the English force into three widely separated fleets is altered to concentration, and the desire of the seamen to fight the Armada in Spanish waters was only baffled by Elizabeth's vacillation. In 1589 there is again the attack on the Spanish coast, the right course, although badly carried out and a failure in results, and, as a consequence, Elizabeth, whose sole idea was to use the navy commercially to return a profit in prizes, ceased fleet operations in sufficient force for five years. In 1595 she was again tempted by the prospect of West Indian plunder, but in 1596, 1597, and afterwards she followed the better system of striking at the heart instead of the limbs. Through all these years there is to be traced the controversy between the class represented by the queen, diffident, ignorant, and satisfied with a timid local defence, or capturing merchantmen, and the more advanced, who regarded the navy essentially in the same light as we do now. These latter included writers like Ralegh, Essex, and Monson, many of whose views, based on their own experience and classical comparison, are as sound as though they

had had our advantage of three more centuries of gigantic naval struggle from which to reason.

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VII

TOWN LIFE

1. Old-English Towns before 1066.

The word *town* at the present day calls up several ideas, chief above all being that of a collection of houses and streets, with families living close together, as distinguished from the open country. We talk of cities, towns, and boroughs as separate, and yet in a general sense we may apply the term *town* to any one of them, especially in the adjectival form, as town clerk, town life, or in the phrases 'town and gown,' 'we go to town.' We have market towns, large and small towns, towns that are or have been walled and towns that never had a wall, seaport towns, cathedral towns, university and county towns. Here then we have an organization of wide extent, adaptable to the manifold forms of collective life, and changing with the growth of ages, a great engine of social civilization and government. It is much the same in other old European countries. To find the underlying principle and unit which has expanded in England so variously and with much difference of local custom, we must go back to the period when the Anglo-Saxons came into Britain. There is much that is obscure in the early history of the people and their towns, but some things we may discern; and we should remember that at the end of six hundred years of Old-English and Danish rule we shall find an advanced stage of progress on which the Norman Conquest entered.

Our early English forefathers settled in Britain as they gradually conquered it after the departure of the Romans, mainly as an agricultural people, shunning the great cities, the centres of commercial luxury, and the fortresses which had protected and regulated the life of the Romano-British

population. They seem at first to have destroyed the towns they took; but, conquering the land only step by step, some important places did not fall into their hands till later years, when they had learnt to understand better the value of fortified towns and civil life; these, abandoned for a while, were rebuilt, and formed homes for the new institutions that were to grow up within them. Thus Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester, cities of the Roman period, were not taken till 577, when the Anglo-Saxons had occupied parts of the island over a hundred and fifty years. The history of London, York, Chester, Colchester, Exeter, Lincoln, and of other cities also stretches back to Roman times.

If we inquire, What is a town? what causes it to be established? we find that we must not think of towns as all formed on one pattern, nor must we imagine those of our English and Danish forefathers as resembling the towns of the present day. The six hundred years during which England was a-making before the Norman trod these shores saw many changes and much progress in the character and civilization of the people, but their qualities of independence and love of the soil remained throughout. Men had to live as well as fight; as the land was gained it was allotted to the free house-father, or to the free family, in holdings of 120 acres (a hide) each; the leader with his men, the family whose several members were united by ties of kinship, laboured hard in peace as in war. While fighting raged in one district, in another the ox would be toiling at the plough, the sound of the axe would be heard in the woods, or the ring of the anvil as the warrior forged his sword. Ranks and classes of social order were fixed, the king, the thegn, the ceorl; petty kingdoms were set up and fell; the Welsh were driven to the western half of the island; Christianity was re-introduced to the land by Augustine, bringing milder manners among the heathen English with some arts and commerce in its train. Nearly two hundred years later, when the Welsh were even yet not done with, the Danes, strong and sturdy kindred to the English races, landed, and began their long contest for possession and supremacy in England; at first merely plundering, they successively conquered and settled large tracts, from which they kept up endless fighting

for over a century and a half. Shortly after the peaceful reign of Edgar, the Danes and Northmen from over the seas again began a series of invasions, ravaging the land and burning cities, till at last the country submitted to them, and Swegen became king over all England. The great struggle ended when his son Cnut was elected king and married Emma, the widow of the English Æthelred. But even during the Danish wars, as in the earlier ages, some parts of the land had quiet, and progress was made in spite of all the political unrest.

The congregation of men together in dwellings for the purpose of protection, or for constant necessities of buying and selling among themselves, or to supply others, seem to have been the chief causes that have formed the core of towns; the two first indeed might and did happen together. Recalling the bald outline of the first six centuries of English story, we should expect to find few native settlements of this kind in the earliest ages, while with the increase of trade and commerce they would become more numerous. From the pages of the *Saxon Chronicle* may be gathered a fairly long list of towns and cities existing, or built at various times, during the Old-English period, and the names of many more are found in other English documents and in Domesday Book. Little, however, is known of the details of daily life within them: we can but judge from a few descriptive terms of their difference in importance and status. A *burh* (afterwards *borough* or *bury*) was a fortified place or stronghold; it may have been a castle or a strong dwelling for soldiers, surrounded by earthworks and stockades [Pl. xxxv, 1], which in later years men learnt to supersede by a stone wall; defence against the foe was its main object. The protection afforded by a burh and the supplies necessary for the garrison brought countrymen together, and in some cases this formed the beginning of a town. A *tun* (our word *town*) originally was the enclosure round a house with its yard, or round a farm or an estate; the land granted to a thegn consisted of so many hides (some thegns had more, some less), on each of which he settled his free ceorl or house-father, or a house community. The master with his men or companions, and perhaps his slaves, in their huts and cottages near his own, cultivated the soil when

they were not called on to fight. A place became known from the men who dwelt in it, and the *tun* or *ton* came to mean a collection of men and houses within a boundary. The Old-English word expresses the Old-English settlement before the Danish occupation ; it has survived to include the descendants of both. When a burh was built in or perhaps near this tun the latter became a borough or fortified town, but at first even a burh town was not always walled. Bamburgh is said to have been enclosed by a hedge or stockade.

The tun, large or small, scattered over the land as it was gained, at distances of time, would vary in development according to locality and necessity. In some cases a family group dwelling together would call it their *ham* or home, as Godmundingham the home of the Godmund family, Nottingham the home of the Snotingas. Many a tun remained a village, or if extensive might have several hamlets (little homes) or villages planted within it, without ever becoming a town in the modern sense ; a church might later be built, and the tun became a parish. The country parish of Ardley, in Hertfordshire, bears on its record book the name 'The Towne Book' to this day.

In process of time the English began to rebuild and reoccupy the fortified Roman towns hitherto neglected. Such a station they called *ceaster* (from the Latin *castrum*), and thus new life was given to Chester, Rochester, Colchester, Manchester, Gloucester, and other towns. The Danish wars gave a great impulse to the building of strong places. In East Anglia, Ipswich and Norwich were burnt by the invaders, and much damage was suffered at their hands by other English cities, especially London and Canterbury in 851, and York in 867. King Alfred built a fort at Athelney and repaired London ; his son Edward the Elder and daughter Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, spent several years in fortifying numerous towns and castles on their frontiers as defences against the Danes, utilizing the empty walls of the Roman Chester, while on the other hand they had taken from the enemy fortified towns, such as Colchester and Huntingdon, Derby and Leicester. Edward is said to have brought English and Danes to live together in Nottingham, which is a token of the way in which the two peoples might sit down side by side when

their differences were quieted. Relics of the settlement by the Danes still exist in the names given to their towns and villages, as in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire we find Kettilby, Somerby, Danby, Whitby, Grimsby, and the like. Derby too has the Norse ending: *by*, meaning habitation, village, or town, being the Danish equivalent for the English tun. In Mid-England they appear to have associated five, sometimes seven, strong towns or *burgs* together in their resistance to the English—Lincoln, Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, and Derby, with York and Chester; these were taken from them by Æthelflæd and her brother.

Wic signified a dwelling or country house of a king, bishop, or family community; it also denoted street or market-place, whence we may conclude that a town grew up round the dwelling which had greater needs than the capacities of its allotted land or small self-supporting village could supply. Later a church might be erected, or a burh might be built. Painswick and Warwick (Wæringa Wic) are examples. Wic also meant creek or bay, and has this meaning in the names of many towns along the coast, especially in East Anglia, which must have grown up around the anchorages or stations resorted to by the early invaders of this island; such are Ipswich, Norwich, and Berwick. The word occurs too in Nantwich, Droitwich, and other places in Cheshire and Worcestershire, where the bays or salt-pans gathered men together for the industry of salt evaporation.

The market, whither men came frequently to exchange or sell their country produce and the various articles of daily life, would be held on many a central spot among the agricultural tuns as convenience required, becoming fixed by custom and in due time regulated by law. Hence arose the simple market-town, like Eye (Suffolk) and Berkeley (Gloucestershire) named in Domesday. There were possibilities of expansion in each kind of town according to its needs and circumstances.

Of fairs we have scarcely any record in England before the Norman Conquest. Dr. Cunningham considers that the Danes and Northmen were then the leading merchants. The evidences of Anglo-Saxon commerce in France and Italy, the great trade

in salt fish (due to the frequent fasts enjoined by the Church) along the northern seas, and the growing enterprise of English merchants, stimulated by the hardy Northern blood, to whose hands came at length the spices and silks of the East, combine to make it likely that the beginnings of some of these annual marts existed, and, may be, occasioned in some cases the growth of a town.

Further, in connexion with a few towns before the Conquest we find a *port* (? *porta*). Northampton, burnt by Swegen in 1010, is called a port; there are Bridport, Langport, Stockport, and Dudley Port; and two or three places in the Midlands were, and still are, called Portstreet. A Roman lawyer defined a port (*portus*) as an 'enclosed place, strengthened, into which merchandise may be brought and thence taken away'; and by a law of Edward the Elder no one was to buy 'out of port,' for the security and honesty of buyer and seller. His son Æthelstan repeated the law with a variation, adding 'that every marketing be within port,' and that money was to be minted within port. The port, therefore, seems to have been an enclosure on land, it might or might not be settled near some waterway which afforded a haven. These laws show that there must have been increasing commerce, and provision made at least in some English towns for the harbouring and supervision of valuable wares while under sale. A law of Æthelred near a century later provides for the safety of merchant ships coming 'within port,' which accords with the usual association of the word with a haven on a river or the sea-coast. Portceaster (now Porchester) seems to have combined the two facts of past Roman life, a military station or camp near the haven (which also gave its name to Portsmouth), adopted and revived by the English.

To build a monastery for the Christian English, the members of which would cultivate the arts of agriculture under its rules of holy life, was to plant a self-centred community of another sort. Not so shut up as to exclude all relations with the world around it, the monastery in the course of years, for one reason or another, attracted other dwellers to its neighbourhood, tenants perhaps on lands belonging to the

convent, bound by ties resembling those of men to their lord in other settlements, with their own needs and life subordinate to the more powerful superior. In such a manner grew up several towns. Among the early English examples was Abingdon (Berks); at Shaftesbury, the origin of which may have been military, there was a nunnery planted by King Alfred.

In the account of Bury St. Edmunds in Domesday Book are some passages which show this growth round a monastery. The record compares its condition twenty or thirty years before, in the time of Edward the Confessor, with that at the date of the survey:—'In the town where the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund lies buried, in the time of King Edward, Baldwin the abbot held for the sustenance of the monks 118 men; and they can sell and give their land; and under them 52 bordarii, from whom the abbot can have help; [there are] 54 freemen poor enough, 43 living upon alms, each of them has one bordarius. There are now two mills and two store ponds or fish-ponds. This town was then worth ten pounds, now twenty. . . . It now contains a greater circuit of land, which was then ploughed and sown, where one with another there are thirty priests, deacons, and clerks; twenty-eight nuns and poor brethren, who pray daily for the king and all christian people; eighty (less five) bakers, brewers, tailors, launders, shoemakers, parminters, cooks, porters, serving-men, and these all minister to the saint and abbot and brethren. Besides whom there are thirteen upon the land of the reeve [representing the king] who have their dwellings in the same town, and under them five bordarii; now there are 34 persons owing military service, taking French and English together, and under them twenty-two bordarii. In the whole there are now 342 dwellings in the demesne of the land of St. Edmund, which was arable in the time of King Edward.'

Another organization that might grow up in some of the old English towns under religious and social influence was a gild or association of certain persons for brotherhood, mutual benefit, and burial, paying fees towards a common fund. There may have been many of these organized and acting without any written agreement. There are documents of that kind which

prove the existence of four such societies. One Orky granted a hall in memory of himself and his wife to a gild worshipping at St. Peter's Church, Abbotsbury, and the ordinances by which he and his fellow gildsmen bound themselves are set forth. The contributions were to be in money or in wax for the church, and in loaves, wheat, and wood; the steward was to arrange the feast and to give notice of burials; good behaviour was to be enforced. The last clause but one ends with the words, 'Now we have faith, through God's assistance, that the aforesaid ordinance, if we rightly maintain it, shall be to the benefit of us all.' Another gild, at Exeter, was to hold meetings three times a year; a third (of somewhat later date) was connected with St. Peter's monastery, near the same city, and combined for religious purposes about a dozen associations or gild-ships at Woodbury, Colyton, Bideford, Sidmouth, Exmouth, and other places. A fourth was a gild of thegns at Cambridge, which included also *cnihts*, perhaps armed retainers in the service of the thegns. All these records, except that of the Woodbury-Exeter gild, are of the first half of the eleventh century. There were several gilds of cnihts existing even earlier; in the ninth century mention is found of one at Canterbury. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the cnihts of Winchester had a hall in which they used 'to drink their gild'; and in London the same king gave a charter to the cnihten gild, which claimed to be as old as Cnut. This brotherhood came to an end in 1125, when some of their descendants were burgesses of London. Very little is known of the object of the gilds of cnihts; it was probably good-fellowship among the men, who not only served their superiors as military companions, but appear to have been burgesses of standing, like the burg-thegns referred to in other places.

When we come to the days of Edward the Confessor, in the eleventh century, we find that there was at least one chief town in every county; some counties had two or three of the head rank. These were all borough towns or county towns. In such a town the land belonged to many lords; it had not grown up on the tun or holding of one lord, but contained the town houses of several great lords or thegns, who, besides, held

land elsewhere within the county. Frequently the king also owned land and houses there. The great man had to keep his burghers or fighting men ready somewhere, they could not all dwell in the strongholds; he might live in the country himself, and possess property in two or three other places, but he had houses in the head town where these men could live and pursue their avocations while at peace. His men, the burghers (some of whom may by this time have become lesser thegns) followed him to battle when called upon, and served him in the duties of keeping up the walls and bridges; in combination with the burghers of other lords they may have gradually acquired a society and privileges regarding trade and property of their own. To belong to one of the old set, holding a burgage house from father to son, was accounted a distinction among one's fellows in the town. Thus out of the Old-English military system was growing up step by step one series of important towns, the burgesses of which were later to be regarded rather as men of peace than of war.

2. Town Government.

When William the Conqueror had established himself in England, and began to take reckoning of the land and the people by the Great Survey, he found a large part of the population settled in towns and boroughs under a system of local government. Their inhabitants were bound to perform certain duties towards their country and their king; town-dwellers also gained advantages to themselves, especially concerning trade and intercourse—advantages which varied according to their locality or opportunity. Under the old laws the inhabitants met in a borough-moot or port-moot at regular intervals, two or three times a year, to settle local business. There was besides a reeve as chief officer, whose original function was to collect, on behalf of the king, tolls or dues which were paid by the trading citizens for all kinds of licences and privileges. In many old towns he was called the Port-reeve, a name which shows that his principal duties were connected with the enclosed port or market. London and

Canterbury had port-reeves. Oxford has her Port Meadow still; no doubt her head officer was once a port-reeve. As time went on, other duties could be laid on him; it was convenient to require the head-man, who was responsible for local dues, to collect also that portion which fell upon his fellow townsmen of the general taxes levied for military expeditions and purposes other than local, such as the Dane-geld. Thus the port-reeve in a town or borough, like the shire-reeve or sheriff in a county, became of great importance in the government of the land, because through him, as through the sheriff, the king obtained his revenues. On the other hand, being the head of the port-moot, he presided over local justice, and the townsmen had in him a chief to represent them; if they desired new privileges or redress of grievances, he was the medium of communication with the sovereign. If the town were not a borough, or even had no 'port,' it yet would have a reeve or a provost. Though after the Conquest much was changed, as new needs and new officers grew up under the Norman lords, the basis of the local government was left, and was used by William. In many places the Old-English titles remained till quite modern times: there was a port-reeve in Tavistock, Devon, as late as 1886; and Rotherham (Yorkshire) was governed by two greaves (the Old-English *gerefa*, reeve), acting latterly with feoffees, till 1871, when, under a charter of incorporation, the town appointed a mayor instead.

Domesday Book shows that some of the chief towns had arranged to give a fixed sum to the king each year, instead of paying over exactly what was collected, which might one year be more, another less; this was called the *firma burgi*, or rent of the town revenues. As the townsmen grew richer it became of course an advantage to the town that the sum paid to the royal exchequer should remain unchanged; and, after the Conquest, many more towns made this composition for their dues.

Some of the Norman lords who had received fiefs and towns in England, on settling their French tenants in a borough side by side with the English, introduced also the customs of the French *bourg*, or borough, of Breteuil in Normandy, which

seem to have spread in time to the English tenants. This was done especially at Hereford and Shrewsbury, while at Rhuddlan a new castle and borough were founded with these customs before 1086. Some members of certain great families, from one generation to another, when founding new towns, or confirming the privileges of old ones, granted the laws of Breteuil in their charters, or referred to Hereford or Shrewsbury as exemplars; these places are to be traced particularly on the Welsh borders, in Wales, and (a few) in Ireland, besides others to be found scattered in England, as Bideford, Lichfield, and Preston (Lancashire). In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries numerous towns, already grown or growing into full life, obtained from the Crown or from their chief lord sanction and recognition of their rights and privileges; later towns modelled their rules on those of other cities formerly so acknowledged, and the charters thus granted (and paid for) became the standard of their liberties. A great many boroughs took London as their pattern; some of the oldest of these were Oxford, Winchester, and Bristol, and each again in turn served as example to many others. Dublin and Waterford, which copied their customs from Bristol, became the two chief mother-towns in Ireland. Hereford was the chief mother-town in Wales. Many of these parchments referred to older charters now lost, which were confirmed in them; sometimes they also added fresh rights. Thus grew little by little over the land the same general law regarding the towns as parts of the state, leaving varieties of local constitution which accorded with the origin of each place and the development of local usage. The process has continued throughout history; some towns have decayed, like Tavistock, which cannot afford the luxury of a mayor and corporation; others were planted, like Winchelsea, or have sprung up rapidly in recent days, like Middlesborough, or again have jogged quietly along for centuries, the nucleus of a common religious and agricultural life, till quickened into larger growth by modern discoveries, like Rotherham. Since the beginning of the thirteenth century the typical idea of an embodied town has been a *communa*, consisting of the citizens with a mayor and aldermen. The common council came into

definite existence somewhat later. *Civitas* signified the same thing, an individual community, whence we have *citizens*, a word more freely applied than *city*, which in England is limited to county boroughs and places of special eminence, such as cathedral towns and some recent corporations. Their ancient seals bear witness to their titles, as that of Lynn, *sigillum communitatis Lennie*; Coventry, *sigillum comunitatis ville de coventre*, and so with Bideford, Grimsby, and others; Norwich, the county city, has *Sigillum comune civitatis norwici*; Thetford, *sigillum commune burgencium de Theford.*

Who were the townsmen who formed the body of the chartered town? This is a complicated question, much discussed, but some indications are clear. In the earliest documents after the Conquest it is always the 'burgesses' to whom the privileges are secured, who must attend the moot, and whose duties and powers are set down. Several examples of very early *custumals*, or bodies of ordinances, exist, as those for Preston, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Winchester, and of later date for Hereford and Worcester, which show that the burgesses had become endowed with certain peculiar legal privileges. Originally every burgess probably held land or a house of some sort (*burgage*) within the town, with a strip or strips of land for cultivation just out of the town on one side; and on another side had the right of pasturing his cattle on the common land belonging to the town. It was the burgesses who paid certain customs to the Crown, and rents for their burgages (all which, compounded for, made the *firma burgi*), and who imposed tolls on traders coming into the town. In a 'port' the burgesses were the successors of the portmen, whom the portreeve had summoned to the Portman-moot or Port-moot. At Gloucester in the fourteenth century a burgess was made a portman. Here it seems that the name had survived, attached to a special office. Roughly speaking, the burgesses appear to have stood in the place of the group of men who in the early settlements had dwelt, as we have seen, in the burh houses; some may have retained their holdings in the arable fields, but others turned to trade; for all, the personal duties of defence had generally become commuted for substitutes or for money.

The number of burgesses would be limited by the space at their disposal. The position passed from father to son, but others who desired to share the burgesses' privileges might pay for admission among them. In this way, though many might come and go, and there might be other dwellers, rich and poor, a special and permanent body of enrolled men formed the heart of each town, and carried on its local government. The government of a large number of towns is carried on by burgesses in boroughs to this day; many places not owning the same origin have become boroughs with burgesses through imitation and custom.

There are some twelfth-century charters which granted the burgesses the right to elect a Reeve, an officer who gave place in many towns during the Angevin period to the Mayor as chief magistrate; the name, apparently from *maior*, was introduced by the Norman-French. We know when the office of mayor began in England, the older boroughs pointing with pride to their long lists of officers. London, which had a port-reeve under William I, elected her first mayor about 1193; King's Lynn in 1204, Bristol in 1217; Gloucester had one as early as 1220 (though the office was not 'created' there till 1483), Oxford before 1200, Rye in 1304. The citizens did not always require a charter to give them leave to elect; Gloucester and Rye chose their mayors before they were chartered. It was only by degrees, however, that the towns appointed mayors; the title was not adopted in some places till as late as the days of Elizabeth and James I.

Aldermen (and alderman is a thoroughly English word for a chief or magistrate) are found next in dignity to the mayor in most corporations. In towns divided into wards an alderman presided over each ward; in some places jurats, or sworn assistants to the mayor, were appointed; and it is believed that in towns possessing a merchant gild the alderman at the head of the gild sooner or later took his part in the municipal government. The early history of these borough senators is obscure; their number of course varied as well as their duties. Towards the end of the fifteenth century town councils were generally elected in addition to the mayor and aldermen.

Norwich, which belonged to the king's demesne, appointed a provost under the charter of Richard I (1194), but after about thirty years this rule was changed; four bailiffs, one over each division or leet of the town—originally hamlets—were elected by the burgesses in 1223, and the joint government by the bailiffs and commonalty lasted till 1403, when the people desired further liberty and expansion, and, purchasing a new charter, were united under a mayor with two sheriffs. The steps by which the twenty-four men of the leets, who were chosen by the people in order to elect the bailiffs, became a recognized court and made ordinances for the profit of the town, and finally reappeared as the twenty-four of the mayor's council, are most instructive in showing the gradual growth of one organization out of the other, and should be studied in Mrs. Green's interesting pages.

Many towns owe their origin not to a *burh*, but rather to the *tun* or the *ham*, which after the Conquest was given as the whole or part of a *manor*, large or small, into the hands of a greater or of a lesser lord. Some lords endowed their tenants with the rights of burgesses, while reserving certain claims as evidence of their lordship. Such boroughs often showed feeble life, and in many cases did not attain a mayor; they had a reeve or borough-reeve, as at Manchester, or a bailiff, as at Chippenham. At Birmingham there was a high bailiff and a low bailiff. The lord of the manor had rights to certain tolls and dues; the bailiff originally was his officer to collect these, and to represent him at the local court that, regularly attended by the tenants of the manor, governed its affairs. This court, which had dealt with many rights and needs as they arose, probably became known after the thirteenth century by distinct names relative to its different jurisdictions. As the Court Leet (or law-day), which was held frequently, it was a court of local criminal procedure, and annually chose its administrative officers. The Court Leet was thus a feature in both manor and borough, and it is interesting to find the regulation of a town with burgesses moulded for centuries upon this universal form of local government. Though Manchester had burgesses with a chartered custumal as early as 1301, this was given by the then lord of the

manor, and she was subject to manorial jurisdiction, decreasing in later times, till 1845, when the last lord sold the manor and his rights to the town, which had already received a royal charter in 1838. Birmingham too was known as a borough, with its *foreign* (i.e. group of dwellers 'without' the borough limits), as early as the thirteenth century; for 150 years (1392–1545) the burgesses maintained a flourishing social gild, whose hall became the Town Hall, but it did not obtain its royal charter, with right to elect a mayor, till 1838. A free municipal government grew up in such places in conjunction with, and finally overshadowing, that of the manor.

The practice of making laws or by-laws by the inhabitants (from O. E. *býʒ*, a habitation, village, or town) has of ancient time belonged to all local organizations, especially to towns, manors, and gilds. They were written and carefully kept as a body of liberties or customs to be appealed to for the regulation of affairs, and if necessary were amended at the meetings. The early customs were not usually detailed in the charters —the case of Manchester seems to be exceptional—but their existence was understood. Some of these town custumals, customaries, or ordinances, happily preserved from destruction, supply many interesting points in early municipal history otherwise unattainable; it is to be regretted that so few are actually known. Among them the city of Winchester is fortunate in possessing a small parchment roll written in the fourteenth century, entitled, 'Þese ben þe olde vsages of þe Cite of Wynchestre, þat haueþ be y-vsed in þe tyme of oure elderne.' Here we find enumerated the 'meyre,' and the four and twenty sworn men of the heads of the city, who are the mayor's council; the two bailiffs, who act as constables; the four serjeants, who are to fulfil the behests of the mayor and bailiffs; and two coroners, sworn on behalf of the king. The city possesses 'a seal commune and an authentyk' (see p. 122) with which the charters granted by the town are sealed, carefully kept in one box enclosed in another with two locks. There are aldermen who have specified duties regarding the charters or title-deeds of town property, and the distraining for rents; and there is a town clerk, who registers non-freemen marketing in the town, &c.

Blankets, quilts, and burel cloth were chief industries of the place; strict regulations governed those who might make these articles, laid down their size, and fixed what tax must be paid to the town for each house where they were made. The sale of wool and hides was also dealt with, Winchester being one of the staple towns for wools. A great many of the 'vsages' are market regulations stating the customs to be paid on each kind of ware and the times to be kept; another seems to treat of the method of sale at the fair; others show what tolls are to be taken at the town gates for every cart-load or horse-load of goods entering, and detail other dues, all of which would go towards the farm-rent of the town. Six men are to be specially chosen to gather and account for the king's taxes and money for the common needs of the town. Winchester being an important city had its own courts of justice, and the rest of the 'vsages' deal with legal proceedings and the holding of property.

The ordinances of Worcester, written down in 1467, give an interesting picture of the activities of an old and busy town of weavers at this period. The good citizens were careful to have their acts publicly read and proclaimed at their annual Michaelmas meeting, that all might understand, and the bailiffs, high and low, two aldermen, and two chamberlains were bound to see them carried out. The Town Council had an upper chamber of twenty-four men, called the 'Great Clothing' (evidently known by their superior livery, which they were to renew once in three years); and another of forty-eight commoners, chosen from the commons of the city. Their deliberations in council were to be kept private; no holes or windows might be made through which to peer into the hall. Many laws are directed towards keeping the peace within and without: to avoid frays with the followers of great men the inhabitants might not wear other 'signs' (badges) or liveries than those of the king or of their craft; they must not draw weapon against one another by misrule, although each should keep a 'defensable wepyn' at home. The manner of becoming a burgess and how that class was gradually extending outside the original circle of the town are shown, with the privileges and liberties so dearly prized. In the great gild-house was not only the hall where the Town

Council met for the affairs of the city, the commonalty annually chose their officers, and the election of citizens to go to Parliament was openly made, but there were rooms which could be hired weekly by certain burgesses in which to house their goods. Part of the market, too, was held in the 'yelde-hall,' as it was called, and a bell rang out to warn folks of the hours at and during which different business might be transacted. Labourers had to stand for hire at the Grass Cross at five o'clock on summer, six o'clock on winter, mornings. Finally, in a room under the gild-hall, citizens who had committed small offences were privileged to be imprisoned instead of in the common gaol. Bells were much used in Worcester, the Town Council were summoned by a special clang from the great bell of the parish of St. Andrew; and the Bow-bell, usually rung at nine o'clock, is to be continued 'for grete ease of the seid cite,' the parish clerk to have his fee therefor. Sanatory regulations are made: pigs may not go at large, and the water must be kept clean near Severn bridge; fire-hooks and buckets are provided against fire. The bridge and the quay are to be kept repaired, also the city gates; and if any part of the walls fall into ruin the stones must not be carried away, but the chamberlains must have it repaired as far as available means 'may stretch.' Among the trades, butchers may not be cooks; and he who sells ale to be taken away must have a sign at his door, while those bakers who bake horse-bread shall not keep a hostelry. (Horse-bread made of coarse grain was commonly in use for feeding horses till the last century.) There must have been several craft gilds in the city; except the tilers, they are not separately named, but collectively it is required that the five pageants which it is their duty to bring out yearly to the worship of God and the city shall 'not be to seek,' and that the crafts shall duly sustain them and their lights and torches, besides all, 'in their best arraye harnesid,' taking part with their cressets in the great city Watch on St. John's Eve.

Robert Ricart, town clerk of Bristol in 1479 and following years, compiled a chronicle history of his city, part iv of which sets forth 'the laudable costumes of this worshipfull Towne' relating to the election and duties of the mayor and other

officers. Here we may see the sheriff and the councillors, honourably apparelled, going to the new mayor's house to fetch him to the gild-hall, he in his scarlet gown, those who have been mayors in scarlet cloaks and black hoods; others have their cloaks borne after them by servants. The proceedings go on with courteous formality. After his farewell speech at the high daïs, before all the commons, the old mayor hands a book (presumably the Bible) to the new mayor, who lays his hand upon it, while the town clerk, standing up, reads the oath of office, which he swears to keep, kissing the book. The old mayor then delivers to him the king's sword—emblem of his duty to the king—his hat, and the casket containing the seals of the city, and they change places. This done, the whole company take home, first, the new mayor, and then the ex-mayor, 'with trompetts and clareners, in as joyful, honourable, and solempne wise as can be devised'; some of the council dine with one, some with the other, after which all assemble at the High Cross, in the centre of the town, and walk to service at St. Michael's Church, finishing up with 'cake-brede and wyne' at the new mayor's. The worthy Ricart shows, in order of date, what the mayor has to do from his election till Christmas, ending with the proclamations to keep peace during the holidays, and that no one should go a-mumming, close-visaged (masked), after curfew without a light in his hands. Here these customs close.

3. Gilds and Crafts.

Closely connected with the life in towns from early times were the spontaneous societies among fellow men called gilds. Men could band together in a gild for many objects: for social purposes, for religious worship, for help in sickness and burial, for the performance of some definite task, for the increase of trade and commerce, for the betterment of individual crafts. The germ of the gild was simple, inspired by the feeling of brotherhood, good neighbourhood, and mutual help among private men and women; for this reason there was little hindrance to its creation in any parish, village, or small town,

as well as in the largest. Unless the gilds grew rich and important they were let alone by the governing powers; they filled up gaps in the social fabric not provided for by the systems of agricultural life or of military defence, but harmonizing with the efforts of the Church. But if they desired to devote the rent of land or houses to purposes of education or religion they had to obtain leave from the Crown; where their effect was to produce wealth they were adopted and encouraged by authority, and strongly influenced the progress of the municipal government of many places.

Social religious gilds. Gilds naturally fall into two classes, the social religious and the trade gilds, the latter being of two kinds, merchant gilds and gilds of crafts. Although there were social religious gilds before the Conquest (see p. 194, Orky's gild), little further is known of them till about the beginning of the thirteenth century, from which time they began to be formed here and there in towns; there may have been many at this period, but a large number of the notices that exist being undated, we are left in doubt. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries these societies and fraternities abounded, and several of them were set up not long before the Reformation. No doubt some had a short life; the members might die or remove, or fail in paying their contributions; the brotherhood might have finished their special work and, unnoticed, cease to exist. But they were so numerous and so collectively important, being spread all over the land, and were so much feared as wealthy agencies supporting superstitious uses, that in the last year of Henry VIII and the first year of Edward VI two Acts were passed which suppressed them all, and appropriated their property to the Crown. A very few escaped, such as the gild of the Holy Ghost at Basingstoke, because it was an educational foundation; one or two at Cambridge which originated Corpus Christi College; and Lench's Trust at Birmingham, a charity. The trading gilds, brotherhoods of crafts and 'mysteries,' had so much in common with them, on their religious side, that they were included in the inquiry which preceded the Acts, and escaped the same fate because their character as mercantile and trade companies was clear.

It was the merchant and craft gilds that touched most closely the organization and working of town life; it will, however, help us to understand them if we see what was the general character of the gild. All gilds were organized societies, made rules and appointed officers, and were careful of their accounts. Lynn in Norfolk, in the fourteenth century a flourishing commercial and seaport town, was then full of small gilds, besides owning a powerful gild merchant. The statutes of the gild of St. Edmund at Lynn say that there shall be four meetings a year ('four dayes of spekyngges tokedere for here comune profyte' is the phrase of St. Katherine's gild in the same town), one the 'general' day for annual business; every brother and sister who is summoned must come under pain of a penny, unless he make proper excuse; he must come in time, and 'if he sit him down and grumble' he must pay another penny. Most gild meetings were called 'mornspeech,' i.e. talk in the morning. New members find sureties and pay 5s. and certain house-fees to the gild-house. The officers are an alderman, two stewards and a dean (all chosen yearly), and a clerk to say mass. At the 'mornspeech' no one must speak maliciously or despisingly to his brother or sister, or be rebel of his tongue against the alderman; and no one may disclose to strangers the affairs discussed. The stewards, who have the care of the property of the gild, must give sureties and render an account at the yearly meeting. Part of this property was a buttery or store of ale, 'a chambre where the ale lyeth in,' which no one might enter without leave of the officer, and from which the alderman was allowed two gallons, the stewards one gallon apiece, the dean and the clerk a pottle (half a gallon) each, for every night while the 'drink' lasted during the season of the general mornspeech. It was not in all cases that the 'drinking togeder' extended over more than one night. Proper behaviour and etiquette at this feast was enforced. No one may appear there before the alderman and the gild brothers and sisters in tabard nor cloak, bare leg nor bare foot; he must not make a noise either at drink or at mornspeech; if he disobeys the dean when he tells him to be still, he must receive the rod (? be whipped) or pay a fine; and on no account may he sleep, nor keep the ale-cup standing.

After the alderman rises no one but the officer may stay in the house. When a brother or a sister die, the dean brings candles to the dirge, summoning all the brotherhood to attend; each offers a farthing at the church for the dead man's soul, and gives a farthing in alms; afterwards fifteen masses are to be paid for out of the gild property, from which also the wax-candles are provided. The dean and the clerk are paid by the year. Finally, it was the duty of the alderman and the gild to try to reconcile those members who had quarrelled and would go to law; if they did not succeed, the quarrelsome member might do as he list, but must pay the gild a good round fine. In other Norfolk gilds the annual mornspeech is to be held after 'the drinking,' which lasts several days; some of the fines are to be paid in wax 'to the light,' i.e. for the gild's candles in the church; the property of the gild in the stewards' hands is to be accounted for with the increase, showing that the money or goods were to be put to use and profit. Some gilds bought cows or oxen and let them out. A sick member who could not come to the 'general day' was to have meat and drink sent to him; and the giving of help to poor brethren, and to those who had suffered loss by sea, by fire, or by 'the sending of God,' is a frequent ordinance. Nearly all such gilds had some provision for prayers, masses for the dead, and candles for their services in the church to which they attached themselves; in a few these purposes seemed to supply the chief motive of their foundation, but the greater number dealt with social life, including religious observances as a usual element.

Details differ according to local custom, and the names of officers occasionally vary; in some places, too, fuller provision is made for the objects named above. For example, at Lincoln in several gilds the chief officers are called Graceman and wardens; the poor receive gifts of bread at the burial of a gild brother, besides six cups of ale at the gild's feast, and a number are fed annually; the money of the gild is put out to use among the members, and the increase thereof brought in twice a year; a deserving brother or sister who cannot earn his living is to be helped by loan or gift. During the gild feast the clerk was to read out the ordinances that all might know them. Lastly, the

Lincoln men must have desired to encourage foreign pilgrimages: four gilds provide a penny from each member as help to a brother or a sister who goes to the Holy Land, a halfpenny or more to one who goes to St. James of (Compostella in) Galicia, or to Rome. The brethren shall accompany him as far as the gates of the city, and shall welcome him on his return, when he would doubtless be readmitted to his gild with great honour. At Lincoln, too, was that gild founded by brethren and sistren specifically of 'the rank of common and middling folks,' who would rather not have any of such rank as mayor or bailiff among them, 'unless he is found to be of humble, good, and honest conversation.'

Briefly then, the gild was an association of men and women who paid certain fees, agreed to worship in a given church, chose an alderman to rule them, and stewards (or wardens) to take care of their money and put it to use. They met yearly to elect new officers, to admit new brethren, and to receive account of their money, some of which was spent upon wax-lights for the church, torches for burial, help to sick, poor, or other unfortunate brethren, and ale at the yearly festival; besides this, they had other regular meetings for business. They required good behaviour and proper manners both at feasts and at meetings, and obedience to their officers; brawlers and thieves were to be expelled, new brethren must be of good reputation and character. If there were a dispute between members, it was the duty of the brotherhood to try to 'bring them at one'; their officers must use all their skill to make the peace by means of arbitration. And this self-governing company made for their own regulation a body of ordinances or by-laws, to which they might add from time to time if needful.

These general features and ideas pervaded the gilds of this country, and their constitution was so elastic and free that expansion or adaptation was easy. Various good works were undertaken: forty gilds at Bodmin, 'for the glory of God and the good of man,' helped to rebuild the church there in 1469–1472. Several gilds in East Anglia undertook the reparation of churches; gilds at Coventry, Maidstone, and York provided hostels and beds for poor pilgrims and for strangers; and Ludlow had its ancient gild of Palmers. Gilds in Birming-

ham and Essex contributed to the repair of roads and bridges; another, in Worcester, repaired the walls and bridge of that city. A free school, or a schoolmaster, was maintained by gilds at Worcester, Ludlow, and Bristol. There were also gilds of ringers of church bells.

Craft Gilds. In the town, also, men who followed the same occupation united expressly for the protection of their trade, and to form regulations concerning their work, their apprentices and servants, and the hours to be kept, against bad workmanship, and for a hundred matters which concerned themselves. With a similar constitution they generally included some of the customs of the simple social gild. Two gilds in Lincoln, the fullers and the tailors, respectively founded in 1297 and 1328, are notable for the exceptionally small number of trade ordinances contained in their by-laws, though probably more existed but are unrecorded; their social and religious ordinances, however, closely resemble those of non-trading gilds. The governing officers of the crafts varied slightly in name and number. They usually consisted of a master and two or four wardens; in some companies assistants were added. The wardens acted as searchers and treasurers; their duties were to examine and oversee the quality of the work and material produced by the gildsmen and their servants, and to render account of *quarterages* (members' fees), fines, and other gild property. The Craft 'Ordinary,' as the by-laws were sometimes called, consisted of rules, besides those enforcing brotherly behaviour and charity, made 'in order to put out and do away with all kinds of bad work and deceits,' as the Bristol fullers declared in 1406. These regulations were amended and increased as need arose.

Weavers and bakers had their gilds from early times; the bakers in Coventry from 1208. The weavers in Nottingham, York, Oxford, Huntingdon, and Winchester were important enough to obtain royal charters under Henry II (1160); in many places they were paying for royal protection as early as 1130; and if, as seems possible, some of them were formed by foreigners who had settled in English towns at and after the Conquest, bringing their trade with them, the sanction of the Crown would give a necessary authority. Some later crafts,

as for instance the tailors of Exeter in 1466, started with royal patents, and thereby were almost independent of the city; but the usual authority that controlled the numerous crafts which arose in towns about the fourteenth century was the court of the mayor and aldermen, who were responsible for the king's peace. Each company brought its ordinances to be allowed and registered, its officers annually to be sworn in, and sometimes members and apprentices for enrolment. In the same court, too, disputes between companies were settled by arbitration. In 1428 the town clerk of York records how there had been a long strife betwixt the marshals (farriers) and smiths of the city, each party alleging that the other encroached upon their craft and drew away part of their living; 'thus they were many dayes and yerres in variance, and ayther craft trubled other, and yerely tuke and held distresse of other, so ferre furth that many yerys mayors and the chamber was hugely vexed with them.' At last the mayor induced them to submit their 'points' to four arbitrators, chosen by him from other companies, an arrangement which happily ended in a full 'accordement' declared before the mayor. The changes of trade and fashion caused many a dispute between gilds of kindred occupations, as the cappers and the hatmakers, the plasterers and the tilers, the skinners and the vestmakers, &c.; and this became a serious matter when, as in York, Beverley, Coventry, Chester, and Dublin, the city depended on the contributions and support of the gilds for its annual show of miracle plays.

In the fifteenth century there were in York about sixty craft gilds, in Bristol twenty-six. In 1390 Beverley had thirty-eight; in Norwich, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Coventry, Winchester—wherever busy artisans congregated—they were numerous. In the matter of food, bakers and brewers had to conform to the assize of bread and of ale (i.e. fixed regulations under an ancient statute in accordance with the price of grain), by which the mayor periodically set the prices; crafts of the bakers and the butchers must have been found in nearly every town. Even in a university town like Oxford, where the weavers' company, which had existed from the time of Henry I, had died out by 1323, the cordwainers (shoemakers), nearly as old, lived on till

the beginning of the seventeenth century; and there were besides glovers, barbers, cooks, mercers, and tailors, the last of which, incorporated in 1569, continued with much reputation till a century ago. Some of these companies, such as the bakers of Bristol and the mercers of York, grew rich, built themselves halls, and entertained great men, who were not ashamed to become members. Owing to changes in the methods of trade and various other causes these gilds and companies died away; they had fulfilled a useful part during many ages, but by the end of the eighteenth century the few left in country towns were almost forgotten. Only in London, where about eighty companies still exist, does the shadow of their former activity remain to remind us of what once were the safeguards of honest work and well-regulated trade, and the sustainers of the charitable spirit among the artisan class in our towns; only in London the Lord Mayor's show survives as the last relic of the bravery formerly displayed by the crafts in civic processions on Midsummer Eve, in the pageants and plays on the day of Corpus Christi, or in the Riding of St. George's Gild at Norwich. In London, too, one great institution, the Trinity House of Deptford, owing its origin to a gild, probably of shipmen, still exercises its historic functions over sea-craft and seamanship.

Gilds Merchant. The form of gild which most affected the prosperity of towns after the Conquest was the gild merchant, in which the burgesses who were traders united together and obtained certain privileges from the king in favour of their commerce. The towns of Northern France may have possessed such gilds at the time, and it is possible that the Norman-French brought this application of the idea with them. One of the principal provisions in the charters granted to many towns from the reign of Henry I to that of John (some gilds were granted later) was that the burgesses should have a *gilda mercatoria*, 'a gild merchant with their hanse.' The typical constitution of this gild, with, of course, special variations, was that of the gilds before described. At the head was an alderman (not a mayor), and two or four wardens or stewards, elected by the gildsmen. The members paid entrance fees and regular dues, besides finding sureties; they held morn-

speeches, made their own ordinances, and kept their yearly feast or 'drinking.' The provisions as to civil behaviour, charity, and help were also included among their laws. The principal objects of the members of a merchant gild were to nourish and monopolize trade, to attract it to themselves within the town to the exclusion of those not qualified, and outside and beyond the town to obtain freedom from the universal tolls and dues. The *hanse* seems to have been the entrance fee, or the annual payment, sometimes it may have signified the toll paid by non-gildsmen; as at commencement it was a chief source of their common fund, the right to enforce it was naturally named in the charter. The gild merchant was established in the infancy of trade, before the days of the gilds of separate crafts, and craftsmen were freely admitted. In Leicester, where the rolls of members exist from 1196, men of about forty different occupations were included in the first roll. At Ipswich all the free burgesses were to form the gild under the alderman and four assistants (1200), quite a separate organization from that of the original town. Women and strangers might be admitted to the gild, though not to the rights of burgesses. As a great many of the burgesses were in trade, the same men often belonged to both the borough and the gild, the mayor of the town and the alderman of the gild being not infrequently one and the same person. A flourishing gild added to the wealth and reputation of the town; its ordinances dealt with the food supply, the wool trade, and other traffic in which the burgesses were interested.

The gild made regulations for securing honest dealing, for the examination of goods with regard to quality and measurement, and into the details of dyes and processes; they tested weights and presented criminal cases before the mayor. Sometimes the gild, which might keep a separate purse, lent money to the town, as at Leicester in 1239. As affairs increased, the gild officers required more help; at Leicester in 1225 a body of twenty-four sworn gildsmen were appointed, who formed a standing council 'to serve the alderman in town business.' A similar institution probably gave rise later to the Common or Town Council in several places. The gild was obliged to

possess a hall for meetings and other business; and since doubtless many of the same burgesses served both gild and borough, it was found convenient to transact the administration of the borough there also; thus in not a few municipalities the Gild Hall became the Town Hall. (The gild-hall used by the town authorities did not always belong to a merchant gild; in Ludlow and several other places they occupied the hall of a social gild.) In this way, about the thirteenth century, the gild of merchants, with its newer methods and its business-like habits in keeping accounts, was gradually growing into union with the governing functions of the town, and its laws were combining with and forming the laws of the town, as we see in the cases of Winchester, Worcester, Preston, and Berwick-upon-Tweed. In Gloucester the gild was held as separate from the borough till the middle of the sixteenth century. These bodies accordingly formed an important element in the growth of industrial towns from the end of the eleventh century; their separate identity died away principally in the fourteenth century, but in various ways their influence lasted long and left its mark behind. It must always be remembered that there is great diversity in the history of towns; they rose and fell at varying dates; each one has its life-story, founded on its peculiar circumstances; and this principle applies also to the study of the life of the merchant gild.

4. Markets and Fairs.

From ancient times the countrymen and others who brought their produce to be sold in the boroughs and towns had to pay various dues to the king or to the local lord, for leave to enter the walls, for leave to stand in a fixed spot or particular street where buyers would know where to find them, rents for stalls, and fines should they break the rules of the market. These together made a considerable sum at the end of the year, and the rights of a market became in some places a valuable property, especially after the Conquest, when new tolls were introduced; as that on passing through a forest, crossing a bridge, entering a town, and so on, so much a load should be paid, according to the class of ware. In King Alfred's time, Æthelred

of Mercia and his wife Æthelflæd, wishing to help the church in Worcester, where they had built a burh, granted to the bishop half their market rights, i. e. the profits which would have come to them 'both in market and in street'; and Alfred's son, King Edward the Elder, granted the tolls of the 'town's cheaping' in Taunton to the see of Winchester. *Cheaping* was Old-English for buying or bargaining, from *ceapian*, to bargain or trade; *cheap-stowe* meant a market-place, and the root *cheap* appears in such names as Chepstowe, Chipping Norton, Chipping Sudbury, &c., as well as in the word *ceap-mann*, a chapman, bargainer, or merchant. Some of the selling and bargaining was done in an open street, where the vendors were accustomed to stand, hence 'Cheapside,' the name of well-known streets in London and Manchester. In 1319 the market standings in Oxford were held along a considerable part of High Street and Cornmarket Street, and the same state of things would be found in many towns.

Domesday Book mentions markets in about fifty towns, and it is known that others existed which are not included therein. Some had then been set up quite recently, and in succeeding centuries, as population increased and new towns were settled, markets were freely granted. A market might not be set up in any place: if it were too near one already established it would interfere with the trade of the earlier market; inquiry had to be made whether a new one would injure the rights of the king or of others. A famous lawyer of the thirteenth century considered that the distance between markets should be not less than a little over six miles, an interval which would allow time for the walk to market in the morning, for the sale of wares in the middle of the day, and for the market folk to get home by daylight, the last being an important consideration on account of the numerous robbers.

Sunday marketing was forbidden among both Danes and English as early as 906, and the prohibition was repeated several times before the Conquest. That day, which must have been a convenient one to those whose week was filled with toil—the churchyard being handy for setting down their baskets—was however long continued to be so used in many places. But

slowly the Church prevailed against early law and custom. Bishops imposed fines for breaking 'the holiday rest'; towards 1201 Eustace, Abbot of Flay, went about preaching that no one should sell in the market on Sundays; in 1285 a statute was passed forbidding fairs and markets to be held in churchyards; and at length, in 1448, Henry VI forbade the holding of fairs and markets on Sundays: no wares were to be shown, 'necessary victual only except.' The old laws were careful to protect the roads and ways about the city; within three miles round 'no man ought to stop or hinder another . . . if he comes in the city's peace'; 'the roads from city to city, from borough to borough, by which men go to market and to their other business, are under the law of the county.' Such were the rights declared under Edward the Confessor. Once established, a market might not be removed, nor its day be changed, except for great need: uncertainty was fatal to prosperous trade. Markets, being a necessity to country towns as well as to boroughs and cities, increased in number in spite of tolls and imposts by which the owners, lords of manors, abbots, bishops, and royal officers, attempted to swell their profits, even sometimes to the king's loss of his dues. During a great inquiry made throughout the country at the beginning of Edward I's reign, numerous complaints were brought as to exactions and frauds connected with markets, and an Act was afterwards passed for the correction of such abuses. Within the thirteenth century the market law became settled, and has remained almost unchanged till modern times.

And as among a company assembled for bargain and sale disputes were certain to arise as to weight, measure, or quality of stuff, in every market it was provided that there should be a court composed of merchants, held by the mayor or the steward of the Court Leet in the Tolbooth or some other convenient spot. This was the court of *Pie-powder*, or *pieds poudrés*, 'dusty feet,' so called because the chapmen or merchants came straight in, without ceremony, to have their differences adjusted on the day on which they happened, and to have offenders punished without delay. When held at a fair, the court would sit so long as the fair lasted. The Tolbooth itself was an adjunct of market law, being originally a hut or

booth set apart for the payment of tolls and dues, where goods were weighed and the court sat; if, later, a permanent building were erected, it might become a prison or a town-hall. For bread, wine, and ale the prices had to be fixed once a week by the mayor or bailiff, according to a regular scale, so that in this respect there was no opportunity for haggling; but there might be room for fraud in the quality and in the weight. In the 'Usages of Winchester,' before quoted (p. 202), rules are laid down as to the sale of fish and poultry. They shall not be bought wholesale before nine in the morning; a board on which fish is shown for sale pays rent a farthing a day; every cart-load of fish on the board pays a halfpenny; tolls are paid besides for cart-loads, horse-loads, and man-loads of fish brought in by non-burgesses,—salmon, lampreys, and herrings sold in Lent, for each kind a special toll. Butchers pay for their stalls, and merchants of unslaughtered goats, sheep, and swine are registered. Bakers in the town are well looked after. They must keep the assize with good bread of full weight; those from outside who sell their bread in the High Street pay more rent than those who stand in the other streets, and every baker must put his seal upon his loaves. For cheese and butter, grease and 'smear' (fat or ointment) brought into the city, so much a stone is to be paid as toll. So also in the ordinances of Berwick-upon-Tweed and of Worcester, rules for the sale of supplies in market are carefully made to hinder those who would take wrongful advantage, and to ensure fair dealing to all.

A market draws in from the immediate neighbourhood the trade for supplying daily wants at frequent intervals, such as once, twice, or thrice a week; a fair, held annually or biennially, gave opportunity to merchants travelling from a distance to sell goods from other parts of the realm or from abroad. The origin of fairs is traced to tribal customs and religious festivals. A holy shrine would attract people from afar to share in its special benefits; meeting strangers there from distant counties, they would combine profit with spiritual weal, the merchants would open their wares, the better-off would buy their pepper, ginger, sugar, and other rare stores, their silks and linen, and the yearly holy day or holiday, regularly anticipated, became a fair

or mart. In a dispute in the reign of King John as to a fair held at Sallingford, the Abbot of Abingdon claimed that the abbey possessed the fair free from tolls to the king because the assembly was in order to keep the wake or saint's festival, though buying and selling went on there. Various other local reasons, such as good roads or the neighbourhood of waterways, would help to determine the seat of a fair. They were, like the markets, in olden times often held in churchyards, where booths were made out of the boughs of trees. About 1183 the tenants of Boldon, in Durham, were bound to erect such lodges or booths at the fairs of St. Cuthbert; at Hereford certain tenants had to cut rods or wattle in the neighbouring wood for making enclosures at the fair. With the fair still more than with the market, a concourse of people buying and selling must be controlled by authority; peace and protection must be paid for; and it was soon realized that fairs were profitable to those who possessed the rights of enforcing these advantages. Some fairs were granted for charitable purposes. Stourbridge fair, near Cambridge, one of the most famous in the Middle Ages, originated in a grant by King John for the maintenance of a hospital for lepers, though it afterwards became the property of the burgesses of Cambridge. Another, at Burley, in Rutland, was granted to aid the restoration of that town, which had been burnt. As commerce increased abroad and at home, fresh opportunities were sought by merchants for the sale, and by town populations for the acquisition, of numberless new and useful stores and objects which they had no other chance of procuring; and accordingly it is found that numerous grants of the right to hold a fair were made by the Crown from the twelfth century onwards. Henry I granted several to great churches and priories, which afterwards became important fairs. Thus he granted to Canterbury a fair of five days; to St. Andrew's, Rochester, the gift of 'all customs and liberties, and the entire toll of the two days' fair on the feast of St. Paulinus'; to Winchester Cathedral a fair of eight days' at St. Giles' Church on the eastern hill, with the king's rents and rights, including those given by William II. Others granted to ecclesiastical bodies during the reign of Henry I were at Malmesbury,

St. Albans, Bath, and Ramsey, to the monastery of Tavistock, and to St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford, the last to extend over seven days in July. During the seventy-four years from the first year of King John to the last of Henry III, about 2,000 fairs with their rights were granted, of which but a few were in Wales, Ireland, and France.

The owner 'proclaimed' the opening of the fair; his proclamation included orders to keep the peace, to maintain honest dealing, and restrain vagabonds; it also gave notice of the Pie-powder Court. While a fair was being held no business was allowed in the market, and shops were closed; 'the town courts (as in Oxford during St. Frideswide's fair) were closed in favour of the Pie-powder Court . . . and the keys of the city gates were given over by the mayor to the prior'; the fair enjoyed a monopoly of trade and law for the time. At Westminster, Ely, and Winchester the same rules are recorded. Some fairs became especially famous, such as those of St. Giles at Winchester, Boston, Stourbridge (near Cambridge), and St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, founded by Rahere for his priory church there in 1133. This might be because the commodities were reputed better than those offered elsewhere, or because some special article was procurable, or because the amusements provided by the wayfaring showmen were noted above all others. Fifty years ago Nottingham was still celebrated for its goose fair; Birmingham fair for onions and gingerbread; Barnet for its horse fair, whither ponies were brought even from Wales and Yorkshire; and St. Bartholomew's (once a great cloth fair) and Greenwich for their plays, shows, and various amusements.

Fairs, like other institutions, waxed and waned. Some that were flourishing in former days had become decayed by Stuart times, while others lived on because they were a convenience, indeed almost a necessity to country life; the squires and farmers of the country-side, the house-wives in villages and towns, counted on a yearly visit to the nearest fair for laying in their stores of articles not to be bought at ordinary times in market or shop. Since the introduction of railways and of other improved means of communication, fairs have rapidly declined.

The business which gave them life having departed, they degenerated: in many places they have been suppressed, and the survivors appear to be gradually dying out. A century ago (1792) at least 1600 fairs were annually held in England and Wales; by 1888 the number was reduced to 1144; and of those which remain it seems that it is not so much the business as the pleasure side, the attraction of shows and of sociability, that chiefly keeps them alive.

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VIII

COUNTRY LIFE

1. Before Domesday.

A section which is called 'Country Life' needs must be wide, and perhaps somewhat straggling, as is the country itself when contrasted with the town. The whole extent cannot be traversed; some paths must be followed, while others are left untrodden, and we cannot pursue any of them very far without encountering a mass of difficulties caused in great measure by the changes which time brings about in the meaning of technical terms, and by the variations of custom and phrase in different parts of England. Yet for the present our purpose is rather to avoid difficult and exceptional cases, and to understand technical terms in the sense which they bear in the more familiar scenes of our history. We seek specimens, not curiosities, and these we shall endeavour to classify by their best known names.

If we look backwards from the Conquest into Anglo-Saxon times we find already existing the division of the country into *shires* and *hundreds* and *vills* (townships); we come across the institution of the *manor* (though the name itself is Norman), and many of the elements of feudalism; we also meet with the terms *folkland*, *bocland* (bookland), and *lænland*. Let us try to get some ideas as to these by way of beginning.

Some of the shires corresponded to the old tribal kingdoms; such were Sussex, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, the old dominions of the South Saxons, the East Saxons, the North and South Anglian folk. Others were of later creation, such as the mass of midland counties carved out of Mercia. Yet, however formed, each shire had its *shire moot*, or court, which was held twice a year.

The *sheriff* (the king's officer) presided, and with him sat the *bishop* and the *ealdorman*; it was attended by the landowners, twelve chosen representatives from each hundred, and the reeve and four men from each township. It dealt with civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical cases, though, when William I severed the spiritual and temporal courts, the last-named branch of jurisdiction was withdrawn to the bishops' courts. When Henry II instituted the travelling justices, the shire moot was called together to meet them. With the disputed origin of the *hundred* or the *wapentake*, as the corresponding division in the northern shires was called, we are not concerned. Hundreds differed in size; the name, apparently first given to an association of persons for purposes of defence and police, was transferred to the district where they dwelt. As with the shire, the most visible sign of union in the hundred was the *hundred moot*, presided over by the hundred's ealdor, and attended by those who held land in it, and the parish priest, reeve, and four representatives from each township. Its jurisdiction was civil and criminal, and an appeal lay from it to the shire court.

The smallest territorial division was that of the *township* or *vill*, the ancestor of the civil parish of our own day. The inhabitants of the vill were not bound by any very close ties. They may have been in earliest times connected by blood; they may have represented the old village community, the association of free men holding land in common, which existed among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in their home on the continent, and was perhaps transplanted by them into England. Though the idea that the land belonged to the vill and not to each dweller in it had passed away, there remained the practice of ploughing together, each villager finding his share of oxen for the plough-team. This was some sort of bond; the possession of common land for grazing was another; the habit of sending men to the hundred court a third; and by the time of Domesday, the fact that the vill was the smallest subdivision called on to testify to the commissioners was yet another tie. We know, however, that vills differed very greatly in size, and we must be on our guard against thinking that they had much sense of corporate existence. In some there may have been a township

court even from early days, but it is certain that a great many had no court at all.

When we turn from the divisions of the land to the ownership of it, we find that the idea that the land is the possession of the people is at an early date replaced by the idea that the land is the king's. By degrees the title *Rex Angliae* supplants that of *Rex Anglorum*. We must not be misled by the term 'folkland.' This is not land of the folk, but land held by folk-right; it is opposed to bookland, which is land held by a charter or book granted by the king. What these charters or books conferred were privileges: either immunities from performing certain duties, such as providing the king with food and lodging on his travels, doing military service for him, or repairing bridges and highways; or else rights to take the profits of jurisdiction, the fines inflicted for thefts, assaults, or other offences. For example, when land is declared by 'book' to be free from thief-taking, it does not mean that thieves were to go unpunished in that district: clearly no landholder would desire that his property should be made a sanctuary for evil-doers. What is meant is that the fines for theft in that district, which hitherto went to the king, now went to some one else—to the person to whom the land had been booked.

These charters or books granting rights over land were at first principally bestowed on the Church, but there was no reason why such books should not be bestowed upon thegns as well as on bishops and abbots. Further still, bishops and abbots themselves found that they had something to grant. Thus, supposing that a bishop or an abbot held land by book from the king on conditions which freed him from all obligations save those of the *trinoda necessitas*—that threefold duty of repairing fortifications and bridges and of service with the *fyrd* or national levy—there were many rights and privileges which would be left in his hands. These he could grant out in his turn. It is certain that even before the Conquest it was a practice of the Church to grant part of the land, which was 'booked' to it from the king, *on loan* (læn) perhaps for two or three lives, to persons whose duty it was to discharge the 'law of riding,' including all military service,

and to pay church-scot and other tolls due to the Church. These persons are generally described as the 'knight,' the 'soldier,' the 'true and faithful man' *of the Church.*

Here then, before the days of the Normans, we have many of the characteristics of feudal England. We have an edifice of at least four storeys. Between the king and the cultivator are the holders of bookland, who in their turn are making grants of land on loan. If these loans are not actually held on condition of doing military service, yet military service is a part of them. Further, where by the 'books' grants of jurisdiction have been made, the lord of the land has his own court. Finally, by the time of Domesday there is fully established a principle which the heavy taxation of the Danegeld has fostered—namely, the rule that the persons in occupation of certain definite spots are to be responsible for the geld. Such a spot is called a *manor*; the responsible person is lord of the manor. On the manor there may be tenants free and unfree, differing in many ways; all alike are of the manor because it is through the manor that they pay their geld.

2. Manors and Servile Tenants.

Domesday reveals manors of all sorts and sizes, inhabited by many or by few persons. Take, for example, the Archbishop of Canterbury's great manor of Harrow, with land for seventy teams of oxen, and the Westminster manor of Cowley, with land for but one team, and only two villeins on it. Can any description be said to be 'typical' where we have such wide differences? Again, are we to describe the manor of Domesday, or that of the twelfth or thirteenth century? Are we to take one from the rich and populous east, or from the poor and thin west? How are we to look at it? An economist will wish to see how the manor was administered from within, under what conditions the folk on it lived, how the land was tilled, and so forth; a lawyer will concern himself with the legal rights and status of the tenants; the lord of the manor will be interested in what may be got from it for himself; the royal officials will

think of it as a unit for taxation: they will want to know how much it should pay, and who is responsible for the payment. The usual form of entry in Domesday was somewhat in this fashion. In M (place-name), A (man's name) holds *a* (so many) hides subject to payment of geld. There is land for *b* teams: there are in the demesne *c* teams. Then follows the catalogue of villeins and other servile tenants with their teams, and further particulars about pasture, wood, stock, horses, pigs, sheep. Mills, saltpits, fishponds are also mentioned; and the entry usually concludes with *valuit T. R. E.*, so much, i.e. the annual value in the time of King Edward the Confessor, and *valet*, its worth at the time of the Survey.

It is impossible in the space at our command to embark upon a discussion of even a tenth of the questions which an entry seemingly so simple as this raises. But a few words must be said, though even these will be tentative: the problems of Domesday, if not insoluble, are certainly not yet solved.

First, as to the hide; this was the unit of rating. We may take it that at the time of the Conquest the hide was reckoned at 120 acres. This was the amount of arable land which was assumed to be necessary for the support of one tenement. In modern eyes it seems an absurdly large amount, but we must remember that the systems of farming were extremely poor. They were either the two-field or the three-field system; that is to say, the land was either alternately under crop or left fallow in the former; or in the latter cropping and fallowing came in a rotation of three. With an energetic cultivator this would mean two-thirds under crop and one-third fallow; but it might be the other way about. Thus the acreage of a hide under crop in any one year would be sixty acres with the same amount fallow, or eighty acres, with forty acres fallow. Further, the yield of land was very poor. An agricultural reformer of the thirteenth century, Walter of Henley, expected to get only ten bushels to the acre in return for two; we shall not be far wrong if, in the eleventh century, we take six bushels as an average return; and this will not all go for bread: much was used in brewing. Further, when the family bond was stronger, the numbers inhabiting one tenement

were larger. Married brothers, with their wives and children, may have dwelt together and shared an inheritance.

Yet, though we may place 120 acres to the hide, this was often an assumption. Measures were vague: there is a fondness for round numbers; the hide is the measure of assessment. So many hides will be reckoned to the county, or to the hundred, or to the vill, and the geld gathered on this basis, without any pains being taken to be sure that so many hides of 120 acres each lie there. Hence we find some counties rated high and some low. Leicester is heavily rated, Devonshire sparingly. Apparently land and tillage in the first were much more valuable than in the second, and more could be paid. Sometimes Domesday expressly says that though a manor contains five hides, it is rated at three. The king has granted an immunity to two hides. They pay no geld. This is what is called *beneficial hidation.*

This must suffice for the hide, or, as it is called in the returns of some counties, the *carucate.* We may, however, notice two subdivisions, the *virgate* or *yard land,* which was a quarter-hide, and the *bovate,* an eighth of a carucate. Here indeed we come on a topic which can be only mentioned, not pursued, the connexion between measures of land and natural units. The acre is a fair day's ploughing; the hide or carucate, the amount of land a team (*caruca*) will plough in that portion of the year given to ploughing. The team of oxen is eight, hence one-eighth of a carucate—the *ploughgang*—is the *oxgang* or *bovate,* the land for one ox; though of course one ox never ploughed alone. It also becomes plain to us that as it is rare for the villein to possess more than two oxen, and quite usual for the *bordar* or *cottar* to have no oxen at all, the servile tenants will have to unite to do their ploughing. There will be a regular routine for all; no experiments will be possible. There is no chance for the man with ideas under the system of open field farming.

The usual manor will contain land of three kinds, arable land, pasture land, and waste or common land, which may be either forest or down land, or both, where cattle and pigs may be turned out to get food while the pasture land is growing its

hay crop, and where the tenants will get wood and turf for firing. This is a natural division, but besides there was an artificial division; there was *demesne land* and *land held in villeinage*. The first was land which was worked for the lord's private benefit, the second was what the unfree tenants of the manor were allowed to till for themselves. These unfree tenants are often collectively spoken of as *villeins*, hence the term 'land held in villeinage.' Yet, to speak strictly, the villeins were but one class out of a number. Domesday speaks of *coliberti* (*gebúrs*, boors), *cotarii* (cottars), *bordarii* (bordars), *villani* (villeins), and we may gather that their position stands in the order given; the *colibertus* is the worst off, the villein the best, or perhaps we should say, the least ill-off. But no hard and fast division can be made according to the amount of land they hold, or by the oxen they possess, or by the duties they pay. Generally speaking, we may think of the villein with a virgate of land, the *bordarius* with less, the others with little or none; or again, we may picture the villein with two oxen, and the rest with none; but exceptions are frequent. We find cottars with four or five acres and bordars with oxen. The precise amount of their servitude cannot be fixed; they are more free than the slave proper, in that they have some rights. Yet they are unfree. Domesday contrasts them with the *sokemen*, the *liberi tenentes*. But in what are they unfree? They are bound to perform certain services for their lord; they work on his demesne land. These services are divided into 'week-work' (so many days each week) and 'boon-work' (certain extra days at the busy seasons of harvest and ploughing). Besides these, there are other duties and tributes, *averagium*, or carting, dues of fowls, eggs, and so on. Often they cannot sell their oxen 'out of the manor,' or marry a daughter without their lord's leave. Yet should we press closely the degree of unfreedom the line is again blurred. Exceptions and apparent contradictions are common. We must, however, remember two things. First, that economic freedom and legal freedom need not be the same; for example, a man who is *legally* free may undertake to perform tasks which we commonly regard as the work of an unfree man; he may, for instance, accept land from a manorial lord on con-

dition of doing 'villein' services; on the other hand a man legally unfree may have been excused his villein services. 'Freedom' in each of the cases will depend on the point of view. Secondly, we may bear in mind that as we advance from Domesday to the thirteenth century, Roman law has an increasing influence with our lawyers, and Roman law treats the serf as a chattel, a thing without rights. Thus, in the royal courts of law villeins are likely to find their position becoming more and more servile, while in the progress of the time it is perhaps becoming more and more free.

The typical manor then was cultivated by unfree labour. The land called the *demesne* might be a piece severed from the land held in villeinage, or it might be intermixed with it. But the lord depended on his villeins for the yearly work. His estate was rich not merely if it was wide in acreage, but if it was also well stocked with men. Consequently no small part of the right management of an estate lay in making the villeins punctually discharge their work. This was the task of the bailiff, who directed the ploughing, sowing, and reaping, gave out the seed, watched the harvest gathered, and looked after stock and horses. At first we may picture the manor going on almost entirely without interchange of money. Payments are made 'in kind' or in labour. It is, as economists say, under a natural economy. By degrees, as money becomes more plentiful, the use of it creeps into country districts. Then begins the practice of *commutation of service*. Villeins offer to pay money instead of their services; the lord agrees to take the money. How fast this process spread is difficult to say. We know that while in Henry I's day the exchequer took much of its payments in kind, by Henry II's time money was usually paid; but the king, though the greatest of manorial lords, cannot be taken as a type. He was in advance of the rest. But by the time of the Black Death (1348), it appears as if commutation of service had become fairly general, and after that time it went on with increasing rapidity.

This practice of commutation of service is of very great consequence. It is the first step in the gradual substitution of the free labourer for the servile tenant. To the later

progress of this change we shall return; in the meanwhile we may note three things: (1) Commutation was a matter of agreement between lord and villein; (2) a new period begins in rural history when a money economy takes the place of the old natural economy, when money has become common enough to take the place of payments in service or in kind, since as soon as payments are made in money a man enjoys a larger measure of freedom: he may be no better off in material comfort, but he is to a far greater extent master of his own time; and (3) the fact that lords were willing to accept money instead of services shows that there was in existence a considerable number of labourers who could be hired. Had it not been so, the lords would not have found labourers to cultivate their demesne land, and the money paid to them would not have been an acceptable substitute for the commuted services.

3. Feudal Tenures.

Leaving these lowly persons, the unfree tenants, let us turn our attention to the lords of the manors. We know that the Conquest was a shrewd blow to the Anglo-Saxon landowners. Much land was confiscated; many small owners who had been free sank into a servile position. The land was mostly in Norman hands. Yet though William I had rewarded his followers with wide estates, for his own safety he had not allowed these estates to be concentrated, save in the special cases of the palatine earldoms. Even these were soon reduced in number. Bishop Odo's possessions in Kent were forfeited; so were Robert de Belesme's in Shropshire. Robert of Mortain might hold near 800 manors, but they were in twenty different counties. Herein is the explanation of the apparent restlessness that marks the great barons, and the court too, for the king was the greatest of all landowners. They roam with a train of followers from one estate to another; there is a great bustle of preparation; a few days' stay consumes the produce stored up during the year; then they go on to their next manor, and the country-side sinks back into its accustomed quiet. It is not till money becomes so plentiful that produce can be sold and the price paid to the

exchequer, that the king can manage to settle down, or that the lords can afford to make prolonged stays with the court. Till that time hunger will keep them incessantly on the road.

Under the feudal system there were a great variety of tenures. A man might hold his land direct from the king, in which case he was a *tenant-in-chief*, or he might hold it from some intermediate lord; he would then be a *tenant-in-mesne*, and the lord from whom he held was his *mesne lord*. From these two tenures come the terms *freehold* and *copyhold*, which we encounter at all turns in the history of the land; the freeholder holds nominally from the king, the copyholder from the intermediate lord of the manor. His title is based on the copy of the court roll of the manor, and he was the lord's man, bound to do homage and liable to pay feudal dues. A careful distinction must be drawn between tenure by *Knight-Service* and *Socage Tenure*. The tenure by knight-service was, as the name shows, essentially military. The tenant, who had to hold land to the amount of a knight's fee (land of £20 annual value) had to follow his lord in the field for forty days in the year at his own expense. In an age when fighting was thought to be the only profession for a gentleman, tenure by knight-service was naturally reckoned more dignified and more aristocratic than tenure by free socage, which called for the performance of peaceful services and the payment of money. When a man who held a knight's fee did not take up his 'knighthood' he could be fined. This *Distraint of Knighthood* was used by Charles I's advisers as a means of raising money. It was singularly unjust, as apart from the fact that feudal customs had fallen into disuse with the lapse of time, and for a century and a half obligatory knighthood had ceased to be enforced, the fine fell on a comparatively poor class. The £20 brought in by the knight's fee which had been thought adequate to support knightly rank in Edward I's day, was certainly not enough in the reign of Charles I. Money had fallen in purchasing power; an annual revenue of £20 had become a very small one.

There were other tenures of a rarer and more quaint character. Tenure by *Grand Serjeanty* involved the performance of

special service to the king, such as holding the post of the king's butler, his marshal, his chamberlain, or his champion. *Cornage* tenure called for the winding of a horn on certain occasions. *Petit Serjeanty* was a tenure in free socage, by which the tenant had to render each year some implement of war, a bow, a sword, or a lance. *Frankalmoign* (free alms) was the tenure on which members of religious houses sometimes held their land: here the usual condition was the performance of certain services for the welfare of the donor's soul. Lands were also held on condition of rendering all sorts of things; hounds, sparrow-hawks, herrings, gloves, a pair of scarlet hose, a steel needle, a pound of cummin seed, may stand as curious examples, but many others, equally quaint, may be found written in Blount's *Ancient Tenures*. These nominal rents were intended merely to perpetuate the recognition of lordship: we may find a parallel in the practice of closing college gates once a year at Cambridge in order to prevent the establishment of any right of way through the courts.

If we turn to the question of payments due from the land, we must first of all remember that until Henry II's day all taxation fell upon land. The king was entitled to the *three feudal aids*: to knight his son, to provide a dowry for his daughter, or to pay a ransom for himself should he fall into the hands of his enemy. The old Danegeld reappeared under the name of *hidage* (2*s*. on the hide) in Henry II's day, and *carucage* under Richard I and John. Henry II, to make his army more durable and more useful than the feudal levy could be, imposed *scutage*, a tax of 2*s*. on the knight's fee, as an alternative to the payment of the annual forty days' service. Feudal lords gathered a revenue from the profits of *wardships* of the minors under them, and had also a right to *heriots* and *reliefs*. In theory the lord was supposed to provide his 'man' with a horse; when the man died this had nominally to be returned: hence grew the practice of taking a *heriot* in the shape of the best beast from the dead man's estate. The *relief* was a payment made by the incoming heir before he became seised of his estate, that is to say, got possession of it. Thus the 'heriot' and 'relief' were primitive forms of death duties.

Since the power and wealth of each great landowner depended upon those under him duly discharging their services and dues, it became a matter of great interest to prevent any diminution of those services and dues, such as, for example, would occur if the tenant alienated too much of his land, or if the land became split up into such small pieces that the tenants were too poor to discharge their duties. Hence came the practice of *entail*, dating in its earliest origin perhaps from Alfred's day, but consolidated by Edward I's statute, the Second of Westminster, *De Donis Conditionalibus* (1285), which kept estates together by forbidding the owner to part with his land. A similar objection was kept in view in the Third Statute of Westminster, *Quia Emptores* (1290), which provided that if a man alienated his land, the new tenant should hold not from him, but from his superior. This, combined with the practice of taking a fine on alienation, put a check on the practice of *subinfeudation*, that is to say, the creation of smaller intermediate feudal holdings, and protected the superior lord against having so much of his original grant regranted away that his services and dues were endangered. Further, as the superior lord took much profit at a time when his tenant died and the land passed to the heir, he would resent land passing into the hand of a corporation such as the church, for this never died, and there would be no fines of re-entry. Hence the Statute of *Mortmain* (1279) enacted that if any person either sold or gave land to any religious body, with the intent of receiving it back again as a holding from the church in such a way that the superior should be defrauded of his proper dues, the land should be forfeited. All these measures strengthened the position of the superior lords, and most of all the supreme landowner, the king.

4. The Black Death.

The quiet annals of the country-side were rudely broken into by the Black Death. This appalling pestilence destroyed near one half of the population, and it was no whit less fatal in the country than in the towns. We can easily understand that agriculture would be paralysed when half the workers lay

stricken; we shall be prepared for the scarcity of food that followed; we can well believe that the harvest lay rotting in the fields with none to gather it. Scarcity, nay even famine, had indeed been no unknown thing in English rural life; rather, it had been all too common; but the Black Death brought with it a chain of results peculiarly its own.

The first consequence was a sharp rise in prices; then, since the former 'living wage' no longer afforded a living, there followed a rise in wages. This placed the landowners in a difficult position. Those who had accepted commutation of service, who had agreed to take money instead of work from their villeins, found that the money they received no longer represented the work they had lost. They had commuted when the wage of the hired labourer was low; now that it was high their money would not go so far; they could not pay for enough hired work to replace the villein services which they had lost. The first remedy which occurred to the landowners, and therefore to the Crown and Parliament who represented mainly the landowning class, was to return to the old state of things, to 'put back the clock by legislation.' The successive Statutes of Labourers ordered that men were not to ask or take higher prices or higher wages. If prices did not rise, there would be no need for higher wages; and though it may seem strange to us that Parliament should claim to fix prices, there was nothing strange about it to fourteenth-century eyes. Merchant and craft gilds regulated prices of commodities in the towns; why should not Parliament do the same in the country? However, Parliament's action, in spite of the ferocious penalties imposed, came to nothing; the rise in prices went on, and with it the rise of wages. The landowners were left confronted with a diminished revenue, a scarcity of labour, and the problem which is familiar in English agriculture, of how to make two ends meet.

Various attempts were made to solve it. The first was to cast the burden of finding labour on an intermediary. Landowners began to let land at a rent, and as the tenants, in many cases the old villeins, had no money to find stock, the landowner himself provided stock and seed, for which the tenant had to return an equivalent at the end of his term. These *stock*

and land leases give us the beginning of the modern farmer. Hitherto there had been but two persons on the land, lord and labourer. Henceforward a go-between becomes more common, till we get the familiar triple division of landlord, farmer, and labourer.

This was a sensible plan, but it could not prove a complete remedy. All labourers, whether free or servile, were naturally anxious to profit by the higher wages which were offered by many, in defiance of the Statutes of Labourers. It was easy to run away from a lord who offered only the legal rate, or who desired to maintain the old plan of taking services instead of commutation, and though the law provided plenty of penalties, certainly in no way wanting in ferocity, yet to put men in prison did not mend matters. 'Men in prison reap no fields.' Where serfs did not escape singly, they became mutinous collectively. The discontent of those to whom freedom seemed over-slow in coming, culminated in the Peasant Revolt of 1381. When order was again restored after an outburst of burnings, robberies, murders, and executions, the legal position of the villeins remained as it had been. Practically, however, they had won an almost complete victory. Serfdom fell rapidly into desuetude; wages remained at their higher level; labour continued to be more expensive. Hence a new policy was urgently called for.

5. The Growth of Sheep-farming.

The problem was to do with less labour. Sheep-farming instead of arable farming offered a solution; and as the woollen manufacture was growing rapidly in England in the end of the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth century, while there was also a ready market for wool in Flanders, this was a very profitable solution for the lords. Yet this sheep-farming brought hardships on the labourers. To keep sheep it was necessary to throw together large tracts of ground and to enclose them with hedges. Hence the lords began first to enclose the common land that had hitherto pastured alike the cattle of both lord and villager; and the villager soon found himself pinched for pasture

land for his few beasts. Further, the lords wished to enclose their demesne lands. Where these lay separate from the land held in villeinage no hardship followed. But the demesne often lay intermixed with the villeins' land. Under the two and three field systems, land was not held in a block. Each tenant held a number of scattered acre or half-acre strips. This curious plan was the outcome of necessity and equity. When one of the two or three great fields lay fallow, it was plain that if a tenant held all his land in that field, he would be poorly off for food during the year of fallowing. Of necessity he must hold some land in each field. But further, these great fields differed in fertility, one part from another. Hence in common fairness the land was split into smaller strips, so that all might share alike; and the acre or half acre was a convenient day or half-day's ploughing. Thus the arable land of England was mostly 'open field,' a mass of strips, scattered among various holders, each strip separated off by nothing but a balk of unploughed ground. Where the demesne land lay scattered among the land held in villeinage in open field, it was clear that to enclose it was necessary either to re-allot, or to drive off the villein tenants altogether. This last plan was too tempting to be resisted. Consequently, the lords set themselves to get rid of what villeins remained, and to use all the land of the manor for sheep. This process of depopulation went on vigorously. The Tudor kings legislated against it, but even in Elizabeth's day it was not entirely stopped.

The results of this were slow in revealing themselves in their completeness, yet when revealed they were little short of an agrarian revolution. It is true that by the better methods of farming that can be employed when the land is enclosed, enough corn was raised to provide for home needs; but the new staple of rural England was sheep-farming, and not corn-growing. Parliament was greatly alarmed lest the rural population might dwindle. The villein tenants had indeed won their freedom, but they had lost their holdings. It was a Pyrrhic victory. Some found employment on the sheep farms; some went to the towns; many eked out their earnings on the land by working at the loom and setting the women of

their households to spin. Here we may mark the beginning of the alliance between agriculture and weaving, an alliance which prospered so abundantly that an eighteenth-century writer could describe the spinning wheel as 'the great sheet anchor' of the cottager, and which was only broken when machinery and steam power literally beat the hand worker out of the field into the factory-room.

Meagre as our sketch has been, the remainder of our rural history must be treated even more scantily. The seventeenth century was a time of political unrest, but of agrarian quietude. The rush of enclosure and depopulation was stayed; it is only towards the last days of the century that we notice the great landed families beginning to marry money in the city, and the new moneyed men beginning to buy estates. This did something to sway the landed interest from Toryism to Whiggery, though only for a time. To hold land became the hall-mark of a gentleman; to have a wide estate made a man of consequence among political jobbers. It is not without point that the third of our Georges is 'Farmer George,' for in his day there was a new era of prosperity for the farmer. The great manufacturing towns springing up, according to the old country gentleman's ideas, with the unwholesome rapidity of toadstools, yet disclosed to him, toadlike, a hidden jewel. Those who dwelt therein must eat: they called for much corn and much meat. Hence prices rose and rents followed them. Agricultural reformers came to teach better methods: Townshend, Bakewell, Colling, showed what may be done with root crops, and the better breeding of sheep and beasts. Arthur Young belaboured the dull, old-fashioned cultivator with good advice. He improved him out of all knowledge, nay, often out of existence altogether. In the nineteenth century, some of Arthur Young's ideals were, we know, realized, with large farms worked on scientific methods and old-world ways, and small yeomen farmers banished to agrarian rubbish heaps. Yet somehow the promised prosperity seems to have been mislaid in the process of change. The ideals are not so golden as they appeared in the glow of Arthur Young's eloquence.

6. Games.

An account of country life can hardly be complete without some mention, even the shortest, of games and sport. Early games are of great variety, but all alike must be dismissed cursorily. Football, which is heard of as early as the time of Edward III, was exceedingly popular, but not always approved by peaceable citizens. This was natural, as it was often played in the streets, 'breaking men's windows and committing other great enormities.' Davenant, in 1634, declares it 'not very civille' in the narrow roads of London, and the Kingston tradesmen put up their shutters when it was played. The kindred game of *hurling* (a rudimentary Rugby game) in one form required two or three miles of country, and the goals were often ponds, in which ball and players plunged together, 'scrambling and scratching.' *Campball*, another variety, was described as a 'friendlie fyghte,' and perhaps James I was not wrong when he condemned football as 'meeter for lameing than making able.' But in this as in other respects, James was a degenerate Scot. *Stoolball*, a game for girls—Herrick played it with Lucia for sugar-cakes and wine—has given us cricket. *Pall Mall* was a fashionable game in the seventeenth century. Cotgrave tells us that it was played in an alley, and the object was to strike a round boxball with a mallet through a high arch of iron. *Cambuc* is described by Strutt as a sort of golf, but was more probably hockey; anyhow, Edward III found it wise to forbid it as a waste of time. The lower orders indulged in many varieties of bowls and quoits named *kails*, *closh*, *loggats*, *Dutch pins*, and others. Since none below the rank of gentleman could tilt at a tournament, the populace mimicked their sport by running at the *Quintain*. This familiar engine had many forms, sometimes rewarding an unskilful striker with a clout on the back, sometimes with a dusting of meal, sometimes with a sousing of water. A fourteenth-century picture shows three boys engaged in attacking a water-butt, who have taken the preliminary precaution of removing their clothes.

Royal persons, who mostly played tennis themselves, were often discouraging towards popular games. They described them

as unthrifty, and urged that arrow shooting was more profitable. No doubt it was duller. The Tudor sovereigns were more lenient. Henry VIII was a great athlete, skilled in leaping and casting the bar, and a noted wrestler, though Francis I proved a better, and threw him. Elizabeth smiled on manly games, but since the players insisted on playing on Sundays, as they always had done, the Puritans were shocked. Games in fact went from bad to worse; from being 'unthrifty' they became 'snares of the devil.' Yet in spite of preachers the love of games did not die out, and they continued, as they always had done, to exercise a strong influence on English life and character.

7. Hunting and Hawking.

Not much need be said of the hunting of deer, which was carried on either 'at force' (in the open country) or in a park where the crossbow was used to shoot the quarry, and greyhounds were employed to course the wounded. Elizabeth saw sixteen bucks slain at Cowdray in this fashion. But it is worth notice that in Shakespeare's day, and even later, the fox was looked down upon. The author of the *Noble Arte of Venerye* (1576) classes the fox with 'badgerd and such like vermine,' and held 'small pastime of hunting them especially within the ground.' Humphrey of Gloucester is a fox, and to be slain anyhow, 'Be it by gins or snares or subtlety'; and Oliver St. John, speaking against Strafford, says, 'It was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes or wolves on the head.' He, however, was a Parliamentarian and a man who was rarely known to smile, so perhaps cannot be taken as a sound authority on sport.

Hawking, a sport now so little known, had in its day an enormous vogue. Perhaps it was most popular in Elizabeth's reign. Shakespeare was a keen falconer, and knew all about it: see *Taming of the Shrew*, iv. 1. 191. It is those survivals in ordinary phrase of what may with justice be termed the language of hawking which chiefly recall the sport to our minds. No more than a few examples can be given. We have 'mews,' the place where hawks were 'mewed' or kept when moulting. Then when the royal mews were turned into the royal stables,

the word took its later familiar meaning. We have the 'pitch,' to which the falcon *toured* (soared); the 'stoop,' with which she descended on her quarry; the 'lure,' which tempted her back; the 'haggard,' the hawk captured and reclaimed from the wild state, as opposed to the 'eyas,' which had been trained from a nestling. Though the short-winged hawk was more popular in France, the long-winged hawk, generically a *falcon*, whether peregrine, merlin, or hobby, was chiefly favoured in England. The 'astringer' (one who flew estridges or short-winged hawks) and the 'falconer' worked quite differently: the first flew his hawk in wooded and cramped country, since the bird pursues the game; the second, in the open, as the falcon rises above and 'stoops.' The best of the sport was to be got by flying at the heron; but 'flying at the brook,' where mallards were the quarry, or flying at partridges, was popular.

Hawking is often mentioned in our laws. Under the Normans the right of keeping hawks was restricted to the upper classes, but in the Forest Charter every free man might have an eyrie in his own woods. To steal a hawk was felony; and the Bishop of Ely once excommunicated a thief who took one from the cloisters of Bermondsey. Any one who destroyed falcon's eggs might be imprisoned for a year. The *Boke of St. Albans*, in 1486, gives an interesting but fanciful catalogue of the hawks proper for various persons, beginning with an eagle for an emperor, and coming down to the 'sparrow-hawk for a priest, the musket (male sparrow-hawk) for a holy-water clerk, the kestrel for a knave.' By Elizabeth's days at latest any restrictions on the kind of hawk kept had vanished.

Between the falconer and the man with a new-fangled weapon called a 'caliver' or 'hand-gonne' there was no love lost. 'A health to all that shot and miss'd' was the falconer's toast. Unfortunately the percentage of missers gradually became less, and the army of fowlers larger, till the sport of falconry well-nigh decayed altogether.

Falconry indeed has seen a revival, but two other ancient English sports have of necessity disappeared—wolf-hunting and boar-hunting. The tale that wolves were extirpated in England by the annual tribute of 300 wolf skins which Constantine of

Wales was bound to render to Edgar is untrue. The Norman kings certainly kept wolf-hunters, and wolf-hunting tenures are common enough in their day, though the tenures may well have survived the wolves. Thomas Engaine held lands in Pitchley on condition of finding dogs at his own cost for the destruction of wolves and foxes, 43 Edw. III; and Robert Plumpton held wolf-hunt land in Nottingham for the winding of a horn and chasing the wolves in Sherwood Forest, 5 Hen. VI. Wolves became extinct in England about the time of Henry VII, but in Scotland they lasted till the seventeenth century, while in Ireland they were common enough at that time for the Irish Council to offer substantial rewards for their destruction; £6 for a bitch-wolf, £5 for a dog-wolf, and 40s. for a cub. The last wolves seem to have been destroyed in the Wicklow hills about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Wolf-hunting was a necessity; boar-hunting was much more looked on as a sport. Kings from Edward the Confessor downwards took part in it. The boar was the 'proper prey' of the mastiff. He was chased with relays of hounds until he turned, when the hunters ran in on foot with sword or spear, the latter branching out into several forks to hold the boar from breaking through. There were wild boars in Chartley, Savernake, and the county of Durham till Henry VII's reign; and James I was regaled at Whalley with what he was informed was a 'wild boar pye,' but perhaps the British Solomon was deceived by a common pork pie.

Not much need be said of the bears which vanished before historic times; of the wild cattle, now represented by the herds at Chillingham, Cadzow, and Chartley; of the beavers of the Teifi, for which Giraldus Cambrensis is the authority; of the wild cat, now almost extinct in our islands; of the bustard pursued on the Sussex downs, in the middle of the eighteenth century, with dogs and bludgeons. Such of these as still remain owe their existence to the spirit which leads many men now to preserve rare and curious denizens of our island instead of destroying them. Were they left to take their chance, they would soon follow the wolf and the wild boar into the catalogue of the extinct.

The difference between our ideas of what constitutes 'sport' and those of our remoter ancestors may be measured by the fact that, popular as hunting was, baiting was even more so. And its popularity lasted long. We may follow it through the centuries. FitzStephen in the twelfth century tells of bulls, bears, boars, and even horses being baited. Henry VIII enjoyed the sport; Elizabeth commanded 'the bulls, the bears, and the ape to be baited in the tiltyard'; Abraham Slender says it was 'meat and drink' to him to see Sackerson loose or take him by the chain. Pepys and Evelyn, in Charles II's day, witnessed 'bear-fighting' orgies in the Paris Garden, or the 'Old Bear Garden' at Southwark. Cock-fighting ran even a longer course. It was much practised in schools on Shrove Tuesday; the scholars set on the cocks, and the pedagogues saw fair play. As the cocks were not, until comparatively late times, armed with steel spurs, the 'sport' was less cruel and destructive than it afterwards became. Cocks were, however, subject to another outrage, that of being made a 'cock-shy,' when they were pelted with stones. In the Scilly Islands, after the cock-shying was over, the boys claimed a right to wind up the entertainment by throwing stones at dwelling-house doors. They might be bought off with money or pancakes; but much damage was done, and the Scilly islanders seemed to have endured this preposterous tyranny somewhat meekly.

BOOKS FOR REFERENCE.

The list of authorities which follows makes no pretence to be complete. It is only intended to name a few of the better known and most interesting books. A student may with advantage look at such things as the Domesday Book, and the mass of grants, charters, and land-books; but to learn what is to be learnt from them, he must refer to the writings of those who have made special studies of these ancient documents.

MAITLAND'S *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897), ROUND'S *Feudal England* (1895), VINOGRADOFF'S *Villeinage in England* (1892), and SEEBOHM'S *Village Community* (1890) may be selected out of a very large number of books of this nature.

THOROLD ROGERS' *History of Agriculture and Prices* (1866–87) gives a mass of information, though the writer's conclusions, embodied also in *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (1890), are not always generally accepted.

JESSOPP'S *Coming of the Friars* (1890) and POWELL'S *Rising in East Anglia* (1896) tell the story of the Black Death and the Peasant Revolt in East Anglia.

TREVELYAN'S *England in the Age of Wyclif* (1899) gives a fuller account of the troubles of 1381.

The management of a thirteenth-century estate is displayed in WALTER OF HENLEY'S *Husbandry* (Royal Hist. Soc., 1890).

FITZHERBERT, *Boke of Husbandry* (1534), and *Surveyinge* (1539), treat of agricultural implements and methods in the sixteenth century.

ASHLEY'S *Economic History* (1888–94) and CUNNINGHAM'S *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (3rd ed., 1896) both treat fully the developments of English farming and the inter-connexion between it and the woollen industry.

Various chapters in TRAILL'S *Social England* (1894–7) bear on country life at all periods.

In the matter of sports, STRUTT'S *Sports and Pastimes* (ed. Hone, 1850) is a recognized authority.

GOVETT'S *The King's Book of Sports* (1890) has a great deal of interesting information, and the Introductions to the various volumes in the *Badminton Library* give us a good account of early games.

For Hunting and Hawking we have *The Boke of St. Albans*, commonly attributed to DAME JULIANA BERNERS (1486: ed. Blades, 1881), TURBERVILLE'S *Booke of Falconrie* (1611), and BERT'S *Treatise of Hawkes and Hawking* (1619).

A most interesting and vivid series of pictures of English sports in Shakespeare's day is to be found in MADDEN'S *Diary of Master William Silence* (1890). HARTING'S *British Animals Extinct within Historic Times* (1880) also bears on the same subject.

IX

MONASTICISM

1. Origin of Monachism.

Christian monachism is traceable at least as far back as the third century of our era, when the Decian persecution (249–51) gave a powerful stimulus to the then prevalent yearning to escape from all contact with the world, and to win the favour of God by practising a self-immolating asceticism. The first *monks*, as their name indicated, were *lonely* pietists (*μοναχοί*), living in seclusion and giving themselves to continual prayer and praise. Some of them were *anchorets* who retired (*ἀναχωρηταί*) into the deserts and solitudes of Syria or Egypt, each one 'being a law unto himself.'

The best among these early devotees learnt by experience that 'it is not good for man to be alone,' that there were serious evils inseparable from spiritual isolation, and that it was safer for them to join together in associations, the members of which were not only united by sympathy with one another and a community of sentiment, but who were kept together in corporate cohesion by submitting themselves to some discipline and rendering obedience to some form of government. Accordingly, those who had started with the assumption that there was a mysterious virtue in loneliness, gradually came to recognize that it would be better to aim at living the higher life in common; and these, while still retaining the name of *monks*, were also called *coenobites* (*κοινόβιον*, the life in common). They were seekers after God, but they had given up the thought of living in absolute seclusion; they had 'found a more excellent way.' Irish monachism, such as we know it in the sixth and following centuries, may be regarded as a kind of compromise

between the life of the solitary hermit and the coenobitic life, or more correctly it may be regarded as exhibiting an early stage in the evolution of the fully organized religious community, such as we become familiar with in the tenth and following centuries. In Ireland that development, which went on uninterruptedly elsewhere, was arrested mainly by the difficulties which the tribal system among the Celts presented to the efforts of reformers. The Irish monasteries were in fact reproductions, in the sphere of religious life, of that which had for ages prevailed among the Celts in the structure of tribal society. The Irish monks had so little to do with their brethren in the same monastery, that there is some doubt whether in all cases they had even a daily meal in common. Each passed his days and nights in his own little beehive-shaped *claghann*, or cell, constructed sometimes of slabs of stone curiously fitted without mortar, the entrance so low as to necessitate the inmate getting admission by crawling on his knees, the passage so tortuous as to serve as a protection against the winds rushing in with unbroken force. In no case was a single large church provided for the brethren. It looks as if they were associated in groups, and as the groups filled up another church was provided for the increasing numbers, till, as at Glendalough and Clonmacnois, we hear of seven churches being found at the larger monasteries. It may be, perhaps, that this number was rarely or never exceeded. In all cases the monasteries were surrounded by the *cashel* or wall—sometimes as much as fifteen feet high—to serve at once as a defence against wolves, to keep out intruders, and to make egress from the enclosure hard for the inmates. The number of these coenobitic colonies or brotherhoods, of which considerable ruins or vestiges still remain in Ireland, is quite wonderful, and the inaccessible islets and rocks on which they were built—as if challenging the furious western gales and the tremendous waves that came rolling against them across the Atlantic—testify to the almost superhuman efforts which those early Irish monks made to separate themselves from 'the world.'

Into the details of the discipline kept up in the Irish monasteries it is impossible to enter here. It must suffice to note

how the Irish monastic schools of the seventh and eighth centuries were the most renowned seminaries in Europe; and Ireland for long was called not only *insula sanctorum*, but *insula doctorum*, learning flourishing there during those 'dark ages' when elsewhere it was almost dead.

The students of monastic history can by no means afford to be ignorant of Irish monachism. It is a history full of romance, not because the incidents and the situations are incredible, but rather because the element of provable fact predominates largely over the imaginative and exaggerating tendencies which are too often assumed to lessen the value of testimony coming to us from Celtic sources.

2. The Anglo-Saxons and the British Monasteries.

The beginnings of British monasticism are wrapped in the clouds of legendary lore. When the Romans abandoned Britain at the beginning of the fifth century, it is probable that there were some monastic establishments in a more or less flourishing condition, a few of which may have survived and kept up their corporate existence even as late as the sixth or seventh century. There certainly were monasteries in Devonshire, at which sons of the upper classes received their education, and presumably enjoying a good reputation, about a hundred years after the landing of Augustine; and it is hardly credible that these could have been founded in the west *after* the Anglo-Saxon conquest, when we remember that this part of the island was the last that was brought under the rule of the invaders. Moreover, it is almost certain that Glastonbury, though it was pillaged and burnt sometime in the sixth century, never ceased to be a place of pilgrimage to the Britons and other folk, and that there a continuity of the religious life was kept up from the earliest times down to the days when King Ine in 723 bestowed upon it—or it may be restored to it—its rich endowments.

In Wales, as in Ireland, the tribal system was so deeply rooted in the thoughts and habits of the people that it gave a character to their whole religious life, and especially to their monasticism. The four centuries, during which Britain was under the absolute

domination of Rome, were centuries of stern repression of everything that tended towards independence.

Whatever vestiges there may have been of the tribal constitution among the mixed people inhabiting what we now call England, they were obliterated under the tremendous pressure of the new civilization. But Wales was comparatively little affected by Roman influences, and Ireland was not affected at all. In Ireland, isolated as she was from all contact with Roman Christianity, a peculiar religious polity and a peculiar form of monasticism grew and developed themselves during those two hundred years when the English invaders were driving before them and mercilessly subjugating the British Christians, and going far to obliterate whatever monasticism there may have been in this island when the great invasion began and while it continued.

When Gildas, in the middle of the sixth century, wrote his famous *Increpation*, there were evidently large numbers of rich and powerful and even learned bishops and clergy; but Gildas, though severe against the monks, hardly mentions the monasteries: those were not the times when any important religious houses would be founded. It is difficult to believe that during those centuries of unrest and conflict monasticism could have flourished in our island. That it did flourish in Wales we know, but in Wales it is probable that the character of the Celtic monasteries differed but little from that which prevailed in Ireland. But the massacre of the Welsh monks by Æthelfrith (607 or 613) at the battle of Chester seems to have dealt the death-blow to monasticism in the Principality, just as the frightful slaughter of the Druids by Suetonius Paulinus in *Mona* (Anglesea), five and a half centuries before, had dealt a death-blow to Druidism.

3. The Benedictine Rule.

When Wilfrith of York was making his defence at the great council held at Estrefield in Northumbria, in the year 703, the old hero is said, by his biographer, to have exclaimed: Was it not I who first introduced into this land the rule of St. Benedict? What did he mean?

At the beginning of the sixth century, such religious houses

as there were scattered over Europe were in a more or less decayed condition, and monastic discipline was at a very low ebb. Each house had its own rule or customs, and all had suffered grievously from the barbarians. If monasticism was ever to become an institution which should act as a force upon the Church and upon the world, some great revival and reform was evidently needed.

The man who stirred up a new life in the monasteries of the West was Benedict of Nursia (480–543). Beginning by living as a solitary recluse, he ended by being the founder of the new monasticism of which he may be said to have left a pattern and a model in the great abbey which he built, and ruled so well, at Monte Cassino. For the brotherhood, which he associated under himself as abbot, he drew up a rule of life which was not a mere collection of minute ordinances, dictating burdensome observances, and enjoining painful acts of self-punishment upon his monks, after the fashion of the early Eastern monastic rules; St. Benedict's Rule may be described rather as a draft of a constitution based upon great principles. In his view the monastic life was intended as a school of divine service, in which the highest ideal of holiness was aimed at in an association, every member of which was pledged to a solemn renunciation, not only of the world, the flesh, and the devil, but to a renunciation of all claim upon any property that he could call his own. Nay! he renounced all freedom for his own will, inasmuch as he bound himself to yield absolute and unquestioning obedience to the superior of the house to which he belonged. His time was not his own, every hour of the day was to be spent in religious exercises or in manual labour, study, or relaxation, as might be arranged for him. All the monks of a Benedictine monastery were dressed alike in undyed garments; they slept in a common dormitory, took their meals in a common refectory, attended at least seven times each day and night in their church, assembled regularly in their chapter-house for the discussion of matters of business and discipline. Negligence or disobedience was promptly punished; none might pass beyond the precincts without leave asked and granted.

Once admitted to the *profession* of a monk, none would ever withdraw from his obedience or return to the world; it was assumed that the term of his novitiate or probation had been long enough to afford a guarantee that he had irrevocably made up his mind before being permitted to take his monastic vows; after that there was no drawing back. As there could be no release from the matrimonial vow in the case of the husband who had pledged his troth to the wife he had married, so there could be no drawing back from the obligations of the religious life for him who solemnly devoted himself to it. The one vow was as binding and as indissoluble as the other.

Such was the new monasticism which Wilfrith gloried in having introduced into England in the seventh century; he at Ripon, and his close friend and earnest supporter, Benedict Biscop, at Wearmouth and Jarrow. Alas! the two enthusiasts could not communicate their ardour and devotion to those whom they enlisted as fellow helpers with themselves in carrying out their great plans. Irregularities even in these monasteries soon began to be complained of. In the age that followed, the desire among our forefathers for the higher life was not strong enough to bear the strain of that continuous tension to which the cloistered monks were called upon to submit; and when adverse influences were active in the direction of laxity, the early Benedictinism was obliterated, and English monasticism generally decayed so much, that when King Edgar (959–75), Alfred's great-grandson, began his reign, there were, we are told, only two monasteries in England where the semblance of the true conventual life was maintained—Glastonbury and Abingdon.

Nor had the failure to keep up the high standard of religious life in the monasteries, which St. Benedict of Nursia attempted to bring about, been confined to England. His rule was by no means universally accepted by the religious houses on the continent. Three centuries after his death the cloisters in Italy and France appear to have differed as much in their rules of discipline as ever; there was no homogeneity, nothing like unity of action among them; they may almost be said to have been bidding against one another. A new reformer was

grievously needed, and when he was most wanted a second Benedict was raised up to meet the need.

The second Benedict was Benedict of Aniane (750–821), who, under the strenuous support of Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis 'the devout,' set himself with all his heart to bring about a radical and statesmanlike change in the whole monastic system of Europe. This great scheme contemplated the unification of all the Western monasteries into one vast corporation, in which the discipline of the various houses should be identical, and all should be confederated for the one great object of keeping up a higher standard of holiness. The second Benedict attempted too much, he effected much less than he hoped; but he did not utterly fail. The terrible rush of the non-Christian invaders—Saracens, Hungarians, Northmen—and the anarchy, confusion, and demoralization which ensued, were well-nigh fatal to the very institution of monasticism, and the eighty years or so which followed after the death of Benedict of Aniane in A.D. 821 were years of dreadful ruin and obliteration for many of the monasteries of Italy, France, Germany, and Flanders. The work of reform had to be all begun again.

4. The Cluniacs.

Once more a great reformer arose; not this time a man with an ambitious theory of raising up a new empire, or rather of raising up a new department in the kingdom of God upon earth, but a man of absorbing holiness, of intense spirituality, of immeasurable zeal, and unbounded self-sacrifice, who did not despise the day of small things, but began by doing the work nearest him, and at the outset apparently hardly knowing whither he was moving. The new reformer was Berno, a rich Burgundian, who in the last decade of the ninth century retired from the life of the court, and set himself to stir up among the ruling magnates of his time a desire to restore the ruined cloisters which were standing neglected upon their estates, and to induce them to found new ones. Beginning at rebuilding the decayed house of Gigny, in the diocese of Lyons, he went on to establish at Baume a monastery which

soon acquired a wide reputation for the austerity of the lives and the rigour of the discipline among the monks under his government. In 910, William, Count of Aquitaine, bestowed upon him a tract of land a few miles from Mâcon, on which he proceeded to lay the foundation of a new house at Cluni, destined to become the most renowned monastery in Europe; though during his own lifetime it was only one of five or six monasteries of which he was at the time of his death the over-abbot. The scheme of Benedict of Aniane seemed at one time almost likely to be realized, when under the guidance and government of a succession of abbots of extraordinary ability, force of character, and sanctity of life, the number of these dependent and closely associated monasteries continued to increase prodigiously, and the *congregation* of Cluniac monks, as it was called, eventually numbered its houses by hundreds, and its brethren by thousands, while among those thousands were many of the greatest popes and bishops and scholars whose names are in the roll of fame. In the eleventh century other confederacies of religious houses grew up, which adopted the name of *congregations*, in France and Italy. The famous monastery of Bec, in Normandy, was one of these, with eighteen dependent houses. They were not, however, spoken of as new *orders*.

All the Cluniac monasteries were dependent upon the mother house, from which they were regarded as mere offshoots; they were all subject to periodical visitation by emissaries appointed by the Abbot of Cluni, to whom all were required to pay an annual tribute as to their *lord*. Each of these houses was governed not by an abbot, who might get to be regarded as supreme over his own cloister, and so irremovable, but by a prior, who in theory was the nominee of the over-abbot.

The Benedictine rule, as modified or amended by Benedict of Aniane, was strictly observed in all the Cluniac houses, and no *customs* were allowed but those which were sanctioned at Cluni. It need hardly be said that in the natural course of events the Abbot of Cluni became at last one of the greatest potentates in Europe. The abbey church grew to be the largest place of worship in Christendom till it was surpassed by the building

of St. Peter's, at Rome, in the sixteenth century. Long before that, however, the prodigious wealth and power of the Cluniacs, the splendour of their monasteries, the pomp of their ceremonial, and the magnificence of their hospitalities, all tended to the growth of luxury and the relaxation of discipline, though it is only fair to say that for the first two centuries of Cluniac history, and under the unparalleled governance of their first six or seven abbots we hear very little about demoralization or decay. It is incorrect to speak of the Cluniacs as a new *order*; they professed to be, and indeed they were, loyal Benedictines, who believed themselves to be the strictest observers of the rule of St. Benedict of Nursia, as it had come down to them from the recension of the various editions of that rule which Benedict of Aniane had 'edited' and promulgated with all the weight and influence of his great name.

At the time of the Norman Conquest the Cluniacs were unknown in England. The English monasteries were by no means then in a flourishing condition. The revival of monastic life, if it deserves to be called such, under Æthelwald and Dunstan, had produced much less effect than might have been looked for. Indeed, the force of that movement was directed mainly to the expelling from the old Bishops' houses those *secular* clergy who, while in certain cases they professed to be living in the observance of some kind of rule (*κανών*), were really living pretty much in the same way as the Cathedral Canons are living in our own times. The attempt to drive these men out and to replace them by monks was only partially successful, and the *secular* canons had many strong friends and supporters. Very significant is the fact that, on the eve of the Norman Conquest, two great foundations were actually being built upon a magnificent scale, the one being the College of Secular Canons, upon which Harold spent large sums, and either did, or certainly intended to, provide with ample endowments at Waltham; the other being the great abbey dedicated to St. Peter at Westminster, on the enrichment of which Edward the Confessor for many years lavished the tenth part of his royal revenues.

Berno is generally spoken of as the first abbot of Cluni. It is, however, clear that that monastery was not *inhabited* (indeed

it was not half built) till some time after the death of Berno. The first real abbot of Cluni was Odo (928–42). The last of the great abbots was Peter the Venerable (1122–56). We know very little about the Cluniacs in England. They were exempt from any episcopal visitation in this country.

About eleven years after the landing of William the Conqueror, the Cluniacs were first introduced into England and established in their first Priory, dedicated to St. Pancras, at Lewes. The circumstances under which William de Warenne and his wife Gundrada were led to found the new monastery and to colonize it with monks from Cluni were explained in his own words by the founder; and the story may be read in the Chartulary of the priory which has come down to us. The number of Cluniac monks in England was never large, there never were more than thirty-five houses all told. They were, in fact, *aliens*, and were not looked upon with much favour here. They were subject to visitation by the Abbot of Cluni or his deputed visitors; to him alone were they responsible, and to the parent house they paid tribute, the amount of which was sure to be exaggerated in the belief of those who, as time went on, were increasingly suspicious of anything that savoured of foreign interference with home affairs, whether ecclesiastical or monastic. But this was not all. Just as the eleventh century was drawing to a close a new awakening of the ever-recurring discontent with things as they were, even in the great abbey of Cluni and its dependencies, was beginning to work among the more thoughtful and earnest in the cloisters, and especially in that stretch of territory, with its ever-shifting borders, which we speak of vaguely as Burgundy, and whose religious history during the Middle Ages still remains to be written by some one sufficiently gifted, and of philosophic mind. Thus it came to pass that soon after the first Cluniacs were planted in England, they found themselves at a disadvantage in the competition for such support, as the great English landowners were ever ready to afford to the endowment of religious experiments. In England the cry for religious reform has always been answered more readily than the cry for religious establishment. The miserable disturbances at Cluni during the ten years which passed before the election of

Peter the Venerable as abbot in 1122 must have aroused, and did arouse, a feeling of dismay, almost of horror, throughout Europe. Had Cluni begun to decline? Had the world been too strong for those who so far had been the wonder and the envy of the most devout and the most enthusiastic seekers after God, and who looked to the rulers of the mighty 'Congregation' as the wielders of a moral and spiritual force hardly less potent than that which the Pope himself could bring to bear against the thinkers or the doers of wrong?

Once more the conviction spread and deepened that the time had come for some new departure. Not even Cluni had effected all that the sanguine had expected. Benedict of Aniane's project of uniting all the monasteries into one great confederation had been tried on a sufficiently large scale, and had been found wanting. There was a vague suspicion abroad that slumbering souls needed to be awakened out of sleep, and that the old régime which had worked so well at first had somehow failed to keep alive the old fervour of devotion. There was a cry here and there:

> 'Our men scarce seem in earnest now.
> Bring the real times back! confessed
> Still better than our very best.'

Unhappily, perhaps inevitably, the very best seekers after God in the twelfth century were possessed by the notion that enthusiasm can be kept alive by routine, they were blind to the fact that enthusiasm again and again has found expression in revolt from routine. What they did see was that routine had done, and could do, a great deal for the protection of average men and women who had little real enthusiasm, and hence they assumed that in the armies of God Christian heroes might be turned out to order by continual drilling and by never-ceasing repetition of mechanical exercises. Did the inner warmth and fire need reviving? Then why not try to fan the flickering flame and so begin again? Hence the rise of those new orders which we begin to hear so much about just when the reputation of Cluni was suffering eclipse.

5. Monastic Orders other than Benedictines.

The twelfth century has been called 'the golden age of monasticism.' Undoubtedly it was so whether we consider the immense power for good exercised by the religious houses in England and on the continent during this century, or whether we reflect upon the number of men of transcendent intellectual ability, of supreme sanctity of life, of conspicuous loftiness of character, and of irresistible personality, who stand out as the representation of the 'religious life' during that wonderful age. The twelfth century was the century during which the great monastic *orders* came into existence. It must suffice to notice briefly the most famous orders which played so prominent a part in the social and religious life of this country before that century ended.

1. The Carthusian order was instituted by Bruno of Cologne (born 1032), where he was a canon of St. Cunibert's Church. The desire to make some new experiment in the religious life of his time seems to have come upon St. Bruno very early. It was not till 1084, however, that he obtained from Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, that tract of desert land on which the famous monastery called the *Grande Chartreuse* was set down, and where he first settled with six devoted companions, two of whom were laymen. Bruno's scheme of reform contemplated something very like a reversion to the old Irish type of monasticism, though it is improbable that Bruno himself had ever heard of the old Celtic practices. The *Carthusians*, though living together in the monastic precinct, lived in severe isolation, each in his own separate cell, from which, in theory, he never emerged except to attend the service in the church. His food was supplied to him day by day at a window, except on Sunday and on feast-days, when he dined in the refectory with the brotherhood. Only on these occasions did he even eat fish or cheese; he never tasted meat; he passed his days and nights in silence; he cultivated his own little separate garden; was taught the use of tools, and learnt to be a carpenter; he gave some hours daily to the copying of manuscripts, especially of the Holy Scriptures; and the considerable payments received

for the multiplication of books constituted no unimportant part of the income by which the Carthusian houses were supported. When Pope Alexander III imposed upon Henry II, as a penance for the murder of Becket, that he should build three religious houses in England, one of them was the first house of the Carthusians at Witham in Somersetshire, and of this house St. Hugh of Avalon, afterwards the illustrious Bishop of Lincoln, became the first prior. But neither the circumstances under which the Carthusians were introduced into England nor the influence of the great name of St. Hugh were sufficient to make the Carthusians popular. Even down to the dissolution of the monasteries the Carthusians retained their great reputation for the strictness with which the rule was observed, and for the exemplary lives of those who professed obedience to it. But the extreme austerity enjoined and the terrible rigour imposed upon these ascetics, deterred our forefathers from joining them in any numbers. There were never more than nine of their houses in England, though all these were amply endowed. The Carthusians were the only English monks who were required at all times to wear a shirt of horsehair next the skin, a practice which, amongst other monks at best regarded as a counsel of perfection, was among them universal. The earlier statutes of the Carthusians were drawn up by Guigo, fifth prior of the order, about 1110.

2. The CISTERCIANS were first introduced into England by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor to King Henry I, who built their first abbey at Waverley in Surrey, in 1128. The originator of the *Order of Cisteaux* was St. Robert, born in 1020, and brought up in his boyhood at the Abbey of Moutier la Celle, near Troyes, of which he became prior. How his strict government offended his monks; how he became Abbot of St. Michael, at Tonnere; how he fled to the forest of Molesme with a handful of followers who accompanied him into the solitude; how he began the settlement at Citeaux in Burgundy, and thence was compelled to return to Molesme, where he died in 1100; how the Prior of Citeaux, Alberic, succeeded to the abbacy, and how to him succeeded Stephen Harding, an Englishman, and one of St. Robert's earliest converts and

associates; how in 1112 St. Bernard, then in his twenty-third year, joined the English abbot with eleven other young enthusiasts, and put himself under his governance; how the new rule or constitution of the order, drawn up by Stephen Harding under the title of *Charta Charitatis*, was solemnly approved by Calixtus II in 1119; and how the very rapidity of growth in this new organization became an occasion of falling away from the high ideal which the first founders of the movement had hoped to realize: all this would take much too long to tell here. The romance of the early days of Cisteaux should be read in the pages of Dr. Maitland. The rest is the old, old story.

The Cistercians were, in the beginning of their history, the rigid precisians, the stern Puritans of the cloisters. It really looks as if their new constitution, with its severe enactments against everything in the shape of self-indulgence, luxury, or display, had been drawn up as a protest and a testimony against the growing splendour and magnificence which, by this time, had become the characteristic of the glorious monastery of Cluni. There should be nothing like this at Cisteaux.

To begin with, up to this time all Benedictine monks, including the Cluniacs, had worn a black habit. The Cistercians were required to wear a white one, and hence were distinguished as *white monks* from the very first. Moreover, while no monastery subject to Cluni was, under any but very exceptional circumstances, raised to the dignity of an abbey, every Cistercian house was independent, and was ruled by its own abbot. The Abbot of Cisteaux was *primus inter pares* at the great assemblies of the order, and the representatives of each house had a voice and a vote in the meeting of the Chapter. To the early Cistercians, pomp and display, even in the churches and in the services of the sanctuary, were perilous. All that was gorgeous, and made strong appeals to the sense of beauty in sight or sound—other than what was absolutely necessary—all *that* was of sin.

No stained glass was allowed in their windows; no painted picture, save only such as simply represented some likeness of our Lord, was to be seen upon their walls; no sculptured form or redundant ornament was tolerated anywhere; no jewelled

cups or chalices were to be displayed upon their altars; no high tower, proud and self-asserting with its clanging peal, might be raised—only a modest turret with its single bell to mark the times of prayer. All their churches were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The ground-plan of a Cistercian monastery differed considerably from that of the older Benedictine houses. The refectory, instead of being parallel to the nave of the church and so running side by side with the south walk of the cloister, was set at right angles to that walk. The monks' cloisters in the Cistercian abbeys appear at first to have been so rudely built, and with so little regard for the comfort of the brethren who passed many hours of the day there, that not a single original cloister of a Cistercian monastery remains in Britain to indicate of what material it was constructed, or what its architectural features may have been. The management of the landed property of the Cistercian houses, and all the business transactions, which grew enormously as time went on, were left to a class of lay brothers, who were meant to be the farmers and agents for the communities. These *conversi*, as they were called, occupied a range of buildings abutting on the western walk of the cloister, that is, the space devoted to the cellarage of a Benedictine monastery. This range of buildings, which some have called the *domus conversorum*, extended a long way beyond the end of the cloistral quadrangle [Plates XXII, XXII A]. 'The *conversi* in this country seem, as a class, to have died out,' though they were, under other names, introduced into other monastic orders, notably among the Gilbertines, but apparently with unsatisfactory results.

'The *conversi*, or *fratres laici* as they were also called, were practically monks who could not read. They were not necessarily of humble origin, but might be, and often were, men of good family who desired to enter the monastic life, and being unlettered could only do so by becoming *conversi*. They had charge, under the cellarer, of all the secular and external affairs of the monastery, and many of them lived in the granges or farms, which they worked under the direction of *obedientiaries* chosen from among themselves. When resident in the abbey,

as some of them always were, they kept certain of the *hours* in the church like the monks, and at the same time; but inasmuch as they could not read they substituted for the regular quire offices certain prayers and psalms, which they learned by heart. The nave of the church was the quire of the *conversi*, and the buildings for their accommodation, which included a dorter, frater, infirmary, &c., were in immediate connexion therewith, just as the monks' buildings adjoined *their* part of the church.'

The *conversi* were thus the men of business of the monastery, relieving the monks themselves from all that intercourse with the outer world which it was the object of the founder to minimize. But the rapid increase in the wealth of the Cistercians brought the inevitable decay in the discipline, and wide departure from the original constitutions. How could it be otherwise? The immense flocks of sheep which increased and multiplied on their wide domains yielded large revenues; they were the greatest wool merchants in England. The monks of Furness Abbey in Lancashire had extensive iron-works, the profits of which could, on occasion, provide for a contingent of a thousand armed men to take part in the Scotch border wars. The existing remains of Fountains Abbey, two miles from Ripon, of Kirkstall in Yorkshire [Pl. xxii], of Tintern in Monmouthshire, of Beaulieu (whose church was 355 feet long) in Hants, show what prodigious resources the Cistercians had at their command. With this increase of wealth, which grew automatically, the old ascetic spirit waned, and the new monks of this order were not as the old. With the single exception of the Carthusians, no monastic order seems to have been able to keep true to its original rule for more than two centuries at the utmost. Rarely did that fervent zeal and spirit of entire self-surrender to a great idea, which animated the first founders of any new community, continue to exercise their stimulating and sustaining power for more than two or three generations.

At the time of the great suppression seventy-five Cistercian abbeys were despoiled of their possessions by the king. The return of their aggregate income affords us a very imperfect notion of the wealth of the order at this time, indicating as it

does only the revenues derived from landed property. Into this matter, however, it is impossible to enter here.

3. It is often said that the GILBERTINES were the only monastic order which originated in England. The statement will be received with some reserve if the facts are carefully looked into. St. Gilbert was born at Sempringham in Lincolnshire probably about the same year as St. Bernard was born at Fontaine in Burgundy (1091). He died in 1189, and was said then to have passed his hundredth year. He must have been at least thirty years younger than St. Robert of Arbrissel, the founder of the order of Fontevrault, which appears to have been well known in England before Gilbert had formulated his own scheme. There were three houses of the order in England. That at Nun Eaton, in Warwickshire, was founded early in the reign of Henry II. It is difficult to believe that St. Robert, when he founded his first double monastery for men and women at Fontevrault, in 1095, had not before his mind the desire to revive the old double monasteries, which were so much in vogue in the seventh century. He was a Breton, born at Arbresec, in the diocese of Rennes, and, after the manner of all Celts, he was likely to have been characteristically tenacious of local traditions. A double monastery had existed at le Mans, just outside the Breton borders, in the old days, and the ruins of this house could hardly yet have disappeared. Be that as it may, the rule of Fontevrault exhibited a reversion to the type of the seventh-century double monasteries, even to the extent of making the Abbess of the parent house the supreme ruler, not only over the nuns, but over the monks of the mixed community. This delegation of authority to women was justified by an extraordinary perversion of the last words of our Lord upon the cross, 'Woman, behold thy son' (St. John xix. 26). *That* was reason enough for putting the communities of men in subjection to the communities of women in the order of Fontevrault. The new departure on which St. Gilbert started seems to have been made as a kind of protest against the Breton experiment. He tells us in the elaborate rules of the order, which are printed at large in Dugdale, and in Holstein's *Codex Regularum*, that he had first intended to found

a monastery for men; but that he could not find such monks as he desired, presumably not such as appeared to him to have a call for the religious life. Hereupon he built a house for seven nuns, who were never to leave the monastery, and were to be waited on and ministered to by women only. But these women proved to be idle tattlers and busybodies, and the next step was to introduce into the house a class of *lay sisters*, who were to be on the same footing as the *conversi* among the Cistercians. Soon, however, the need of having a sufficient number of priests to officiate for the ever-increasing number of the women became pressing, and after trying in vain to induce the Abbot of Rievaulx to allow some of his Cistercian monks to co-operate with him, Gilbert finally decided on building a house for Augustinian canons in immediate proximity to the nunnery. The canons were to be in fact the chaplains, living according to the discipline of their rule, and serving the church which was common to both sexes, who were, however, even in the church itself, kept from any possible communication with one another by a high wall which ran along the whole length of the nave. Great precautions to isolate the two sides of the mixed community were provided, and we hear of no scandals in these Gilbertine houses. Indeed, the strict and trying confinement in which the nuns were kept, seems to have made it difficult to fill the Gilbertine nunneries; and at the time of the dissolution there were but few nuns of the order in these double monasteries, though there was no difficulty in keeping up the supply of the canons. The arrangements made by St. Gilbert for the ordering of his communities were very curious, and are explained at large in his rules. The *Master* of Sempringham was as supreme a ruler over the Gilbertine order as the Abbot of Cluni was over the *congregation* of which he was the head. The nuns, unlike those at Fontevrault, were to be kept in strict subjection to the Prior of the order.

Mr. Hope has been able to construct from the existing remains a very remarkable ground-plan of the Gilbertine double monastery at Watton, in Yorkshire; but not until the ruins and foundations of the parent house at Sempringham are carefully examined, are we ever likely to know much

more than we now know about this highly interesting order. At the time of the dissolution the Gilbertines seem to have borne a good name. They were free from any visitation by any one, except their own master, and if they had any secrets they kept them closely. There were twenty-five houses of this order in England. Of these, eleven were built and endowed in Lincolnshire alone, where a strange *furore* for founding them began in Stephen's time, and continued till the beginning of Henry II's reign. St. Gilbert was canonized by Pope Innocent III in 1202. There is a sufficient life of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

6. Canons, Secular and Regular.

We have arrived at a point at which it is necessary that the radical difference between the *Canons*, whether Secular or Regular, and the cloistered monks should be briefly explained and emphasized. As to the *Secular* Canons they had little or nothing in common with the monks except that they were members of an ecclesiastical corporation, enjoying a common revenue, and assisting in the services of a common church. They were, however, bound by no vows; they enjoyed separate incomes assigned to them out of the common fund, they retained their private property if they had inherited any; they were all clergymen, which, in the early days at any rate, the monks certainly were not, and they *served a cure of souls*, as the ordinary country parson did. This the monk was not allowed to do without special licence and permission of his superior.

Occupying a middle place between the Secular Canons and the monks were the Augustinian or Regular Canons. These were religious associations of clergy bound to the observance of a rule which was asserted (but quite erroneously asserted) to have been drawn up by St. Augustine of Hippo at the beginning of the fifth century. They lived in communities, took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, but they were not bound to manual labour, and they held a cure of souls. The head of an Augustinian house was almost always a prior, not an abbot. The nave of an Augustinian priory was usually parochial, for the

Regular Canons were, in idea, ministering clergy living for others. The monks were, in idea, recluses living for themselves, and seeking mainly to secure their own salvation within the defence of the cloister wall surrounding their precincts.

As time went on, the Regular Canons became more and more assimilated, in discipline, in ritual, and in manner of life, to the monks, till the original and radical difference between the one and the other was almost forgotten, and the Canons got to be looked upon as only one of the many monastic orders. The Regular Canons were scarcely known in England before the Norman Conquest. The first mention of them occurs when Lanfranc founded the Church of St. Gregory, at Canterbury, in 1084, which was served by a body of Regular Canons, whose duty it was to act as chaplains and ministers to the hospitals for the sick poor of both sexes, which he had built. Such work as this could not be done by monks, but was exactly the work which the Regular Canons were fitted to discharge. The earliest mention of the word *canonici*, in the sense of canons living in community, occurs in the report of the Legates George and Theophylact, in 787.

While the reform of the monasteries initiated by Benedict of Aniane in the ninth century was going slowly on, a similar attempt was made to work a reform in the houses of the secular clergy who were living in some sort of community and professing obedience to some *canonical* rules of discipline. In proportion as these communities had become less dependent upon the personal supervision and control of the bishops, in that proportion had laxity crept into the Canons' houses. The Canons pleased themselves as to what rule they should adopt. Great confusion existed, and it was high time some remedial measures should be inaugurated. In the eighth century, Chrodegang, Archbishop of Metz, imposed upon his own cathedral clergy, in the first instance, a rule of discipline such as should eventually be binding upon all other Canons living in communities in his diocese. The rule is based upon the monastic rule of St. Benedict, and was so widely known that it became a model for those who desired to systematize the canonical discipline.

Chrodegang died in 764. In 817 a synod at Aix-la-Chapelle endeavoured to impose his rule upon all the secular clergy whether living in community or not. That was a burden which could not be borne, and the result was that before long the Cathedral Canons became a class by themselves, and things returned to the same condition in which they had been, the Canons apparently making what alterations they pleased in the original rule of Chrodegang. Forty years later Amalarius, a man of much learning, and himself a Canon of Metz, who must have known some of the older men who had enjoyed personal intercouse with the great Archbishop, set himself to make a new revision of the various rules and customs of the Canons' houses, much in the same way that Benedict of Aniane had done with the monastic rules. He was supported in this project by Louis 'the devout'; but the attempt at reform met with only moderate success. The Canons' houses continued to exhibit the same differences as before, and though in a council held at the Lateran, in 1059, a decree was passed which attempted to deal with the evil, and though four years later Pope Alexander II established the Order of *Regular Canons*, the immediate result was no more than this, that groups of Augustinian or Regular Canons associated themselves together in *Congregations*, just as the monasteries had done; these groups accepting the same version of the rule, and following the same customs in matters more or less unimportant. One of the most famous of these *Congregations* was that of St. Victor, at Paris, and it seems that our English Augustinians generally adopted the rule of that house as their own. But at the beginning of the twelfth century the cry for reform was in the air, and the Augustinians were not likely to continue long without their reformer.

Meanwhile this order had become established in England, and had been welcomed with extraordinary enthusiasm. Their first house was perhaps that founded by the Laceys at Nostell, in Yorkshire, but before the reign of Henry I came to an end no fewer than fifty of their houses had been built, and some of them splendidly endowed. They continued to be very popular in England even to the end; and

though in no case did the income of any Augustinian house rise to the immense revenues of Westminster, Glastonbury, or St. Albans, the actual number of their houses exceeded that of the old Benedictine monasteries, and the geographical area over which they were spread was as extensive in the one case as in the other. The number of Benedictine monasteries as given in Nasmith's edition of Tanner's book was 113, the Augustinians had 158. The Benedictine houses are found in forty-three counties, the Augustinians in forty.

The wide differences in the various versions of the so-called Augustinian rule were quite unknown in England when the order was first introduced among us. On the continent it is indisputable that these differences were very great, and that instances of considerable laxity existed in many of the Canons' houses of Western Europe at this time. To induce all these communities to alter their several rules according to one improved pattern was clearly impracticable: the experiment was tried here and there, but 'vested rights' are always clung to, and to induce bodies of men, be they laymen or clergymen, accustomed to live together for years in one way, to alter that way because they are assured that the new way is better, has always been found at least difficult and sometimes impossible. The history of monasticism shows that reformers have invariably been driven to found new orders. So it was with the Augustinian Canons.

St. Norbert was the second son of Heribert, Count of Gennep, in what is now known as Holland. On his father's side he was of affinity with the Emperor Henry IV, on his mother's side with the princes of Lorraine. He was born about the year 1080, in the little town of Santen, in the Duchy of Cleves. He was, when still a lad, admitted to the order of subdeacon, and soon became one of the Canons of St. Victor's Church at Santen, living among them pretty much the same life as a resident Fellow of a College at Oxford or Cambridge lived at the beginning of the present century. In 1114 he was caught in a terrific thunderstorm, was thrown from his horse, and picked up senseless. The shock was to him as a miracle, and on his recovery he determined to begin a new

life and to give himself wholly to the service of God. Next year he was ordained deacon and priest on the same day (April 17, 1115), and from that moment he became a changed man. Gifted with extraordinary powers of speech, he began to travel about preaching wherever an opportunity offered: an unlicensed itinerant who met with much opposition and was complained against, especially by his brother Canons. He retorted that the Canons themselves sorely needed to be reformed. He resigned his own position among them; sold his property and distributed it among the poor; then he wandered through France, preaching everywhere with wonderful success. In the winter of 1118, journeying everywhere barefooted, his two companions were frost-bitten and died of the cold at Valenciennes; immediately another associate joined him in the person of Hugo, the Bishop of Cambrai's chaplain. Next year he appeared at Rheims, where a synod was being held, and here he met with Bartholomew, Bishop of Laon, who begged him to undertake the reform of the Canons of his Cathedral. In this Norbert failed. At last, as the story goes, in a vision of the night it was revealed to him that he should find work to do in a lonely spot in the forest of Coucy, a few miles from Laon, where he took up his abode with thirteen of his converts, and set himself to live with them according to the rule of St. Augustine as revised and interpreted and improved by himself. The place of his retreat soon got to be called—from the story of the vision—*Pré montré*, afterwards horribly latinized into *Praemonstratum*. The little brotherhood lived for some time in the deepest poverty, but by Christmas, 1121, their numbers had increased to forty, and among them were many young men of the noblest families, who submitted themselves absolutely to the dictation of the new reformer, and assumed the *White* habit which Norbert insisted should be the distinctive dress of the Praemonstratensian order; all other Canons Regular wore a black gown. The parallel between the black and the white monks and the black and the white canons is obvious.

St. Norbert's one leading idea was to unite the asceticism of the monastic life with the active duties and employments of the clerical and apostolic life; his Canons were to be men

of prayer, but they were to be preachers too, preachers and teachers who by their life and doctrine might become the salt of the earth.

In 1126 Norbert became Archbishop of Magdeburg, but so far from relaxing his efforts at reform, he continued by all means in his power to increase the number of the houses subject to his rule. He died at Magdeburg in 1134; in less than a century after his death it is said that nearly a thousand Praemonstratensian abbeys—they are all abbeys—were to be found scattered all over Europe. The first Praemonstratensian abbey in England was founded at Newhouse, in Lincolnshire, in 1143, and from this time the rage for building houses of this order went on uninterruptedly. Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, founded the last of them at Titchfield, in Hants, in 1231. There were thirty Praemonstratensian abbeys at the time of the dissolution.

7. Summary.

The history of monasticism in England after the Conquest is the history of a continuous religious movement which went on uninterruptedly for nearly 200 years. It was a movement which, in its various phases, could not but exercise an incalculable influence upon the social, the moral, and the intellectual life of our forefathers. The great emotional wave went rolling on till the reign of Henry III was more than half over. At the beginning of that reign the waste places of the land were beginning to be used up. They were being everywhere changed into the 'gardens of the Lord.' When the friars landed on our shores—mendicants in name, in spirit, and in truth—they did not ask to be housed in pleasant places where they might possess their souls in quiet, keep the world and the devil at bay, and

> 'Live and lie reclined
> On the hills like gods together careless of mankind';

they came as true missionaries, bringing the half-forgotten gospel of the Saviour to the sweltering hovels and filthy lanes of the towns—to the lost and the submerged wretches, sinking

and dying body and soul—and their appeal for help was nobly answered. From that time forward there was practically little building of monasteries in England. The friars wanted no houses or lands, no endowments, only a roof to lay their heads under, and a church of their own to worship in. For the rest they looked for support from the everflowing stream of small benefactions which came to them without stint, and provided them with a modest subsistence; and what they asked for that they found. When the spoliation came, the poverty of the mendicant orders everywhere was conspicuous, though even in the reign of Henry VIII it is quite exceptional to find no legacy 'to the four orders of Friars' in the will of any man or woman of substance, that has come down to us.

It is because the mendicant orders were, strictly speaking, not *monks* at all that I have refrained from dealing with them. For the rest I must refer to an essay entitled 'Daily Life in a Medieval Monastery,' in my volume *The Coming of the Friars*, for those who look for hints and suggestions on that subject. Until it becomes possible to map out with certainty the ground-plan of some of our old English nunneries, and until some more episcopal visitations of these houses are made public, any attempt to deal with that branch of the subject would be, at least premature. In the archives of Lincoln there are several of these episcopal visitations still preserved.

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X

TRADE AND COMMERCE

1. General Sketch to 1300.

The earliest information that we have as to foreign commerce after the Anglo-Saxon invasion and the general disappearance of Roman civilization associates trade with the service of religion. We learn from Bede that Benedict Biscop, in the year 675, went to Gaul to engage masons and glass-makers to build and glaze the windows of his church at Wearmouth. In 678 he paid a fourth visit to Rome to procure books, vestments, images, and pictures, of which he imported a large store. So thoroughly was the art of embroidery domesticated here, that at the time of the Norman Conquest it was exported to Italy under the name of 'English work.' English merchants frequented the French fairs, and an English merchant was living at Marseilles early in the eighth century. In 796 Charles the Great, in a letter to Offa, king of Mercia, gave assurances of protection to English merchants within his dominions, and solicited it for his subjects trading in Offa's territory. We also hear at this time of a trade in slaves, perhaps a relic of the Roman occupation. At the time of the Conquest, and a century later, slaves were regularly exported to Ireland. The invasions of the Danes opened up new directions for English commerce. An extraordinary number of early English coins have been found in Scandinavia. From their settlements in Dublin and along the southern coasts of Ireland, the Danes carried on an active intercourse with Chester and Bristol. The trade with Iceland, a frequent source of dispute and bloodshed during the Middle Ages, dates from this period. With the Norman Conquest began a systematic connexion with

the continent. Internal trade was now recruited by the immigration of foreign artisans. Henry I settled a number of Flemish weavers at Ross, Tenby, and Haverfordwest, and another colony at the mouth of the Tweed. In the twelfth century, we hear of weavers' gilds in London, York, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Winchester, and Oxford. Many of these were aliens, enjoying a special royal protection. An immense impulse was given by the Conquest to the building of churches and castles. For this purpose large quantities of stone were imported from Caen during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Architects and masons flocked into England from both Normandy and the Low Countries.

Besides these scattered bodies of foreign artisans there were organized bodies of foreign merchants. The men of the Emperor (*homines Imperatoris*) had been established in a settlement in London as early as the time of Æthelred the Redeless (978–1016). It was a characteristic of the medieval merchant that he travelled with his merchandise. Protection was, therefore, necessary for both his goods and his person. Royal letters of privilege were not enough to ensure safety from the jealousies of native traders. A more effective guarantee of security was obtained by a common dwelling within a fortified inclosure, corresponding to the English 'factories' in India in the seventeenth century. The generic name given by the English to these trading associations was 'Hanse.' The first hanse of which we hear was that of Cologne. In 1157, Henry II granted it extensive privileges. The merchants of this hanse received, besides protection to their goods and their house in London, a concession to sell their wines subject to the same tolls as French wines. When Richard I passed through Cologne on his way home in 1194, these rights were largely augmented. Merchants of the Cologne Hanse were granted freedom from all tolls and customs in the city of London, and were at liberty to trade at fairs throughout the country.

Early in the thirteenth century another hanse was formed, known as the Flemish Hanse of London. It comprised as many as thirty-four towns of Flanders and of the north of France engaged in the manufacture of cloth, for which purpose

they were exporters of wool from England. But the greatest hanse of all was the German or Teutonic Hanse. The origin of this hanse was the reluctance of Cologne to admit to its privileges the rising town of Luebeck. Luebeck and Hamburg accordingly joined together in 1266, under a licence from Henry III, to form an organization of their own. Their house was called the Steelyard, from the fact that their weighing machine stood there, the use of which, instead of that of the city, was a standing grievance to the Londoners. By the middle of the thirteenth century their importance was rapidly increasing. They were joined by all the German towns engaged in the Baltic trade. As early as 1271 they had already formed an affiliated society at Lynn, and both there and at Boston, York, Hull, Bristol, Norwich, Ipswich, and Yarmouth, they subsequently built hanse houses.

Trade with the Latin nations, like the trade with Germany, was at first inter-municipal, not international in the modern sense. Before the formation of the Flemish Hanse, at least as early as 1237, an agreement had been entered into between the city of London and the towns of Corby, Nesle, and Amiens, the last of which towns afterwards joined that hanse. The rights purchased by these towns were, after protracted disputes, settled by a treaty of 1334. Its contents illustrate the points of controversy between the citizens of an English town and 'foreigners,' in which term were included even English born, not free of the town. By the agreement of 1334 the citizens of the three towns were entitled to unload and store their woad, garlic, and onions in the city, to sell anything but wine and corn, as well to strangers as to citizens of London, a valuable right. They might keep inns for the reception of their townsmen, though not for longer than a year. They were to have a voice in the appointment of the officials authorized to supervise the measurement and sale of the woad. The mayor of London was pledged to aid them to recover debts due to them. They were to enjoy the right of meeting. They were to be free from taxes for the repair of the city walls.

The rest of the English foreign trade in the thirteenth century was less in the hands of trading corporations. The

French wine trade had been in existence since before the Conquest. In the twelfth century it was chiefly carried on by the merchants of Rouen. With a view not only to its encouragement, but also to the conciliation of his French provinces, Edward I, in 1275, granted a charter of privileges to the Gascon merchants, which the citizens of London resisted. Italian wool-buyers travelled through the country, and probably suffered less than other aliens from the hostility of the people to foreigners, because many of them bore a semi-sacred character as the agents employed by the popes for the collection of their revenues. We hear of firms from Piacenza, Florence, and Lucca, engaged in the export of wool to Italy. They contracted with the religious houses for yearly supplies of wool. Lists of these houses, nearly two hundred in number, still exist, belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They include most of the counties of England and Wales. The Jews appeared in England in the eleventh century. They were held to be the bondmen of the king, and as such enjoyed the royal protection. As bondmen they could only acquire for their master's profit. Upon this legal doctrine was based the system of royal exactions, by submission to which they purchased toleration. They maintained themselves in isolated communities in the towns, abstained alike from agriculture and handicraft, and confined themselves to money-lending at high rates of interest. For this pursuit the field was left open to them by the prohibition to Christians of lending upon interest laid down by the canon law. The kings found connivance more profitable than repression. Edward I, however, endeavoured to compel the Jews to practise trades recognized as legitimate. Failing in this, he limited their right to interest to 42 per cent., perhaps not an excessive rate in view of the scarcity of capital and the risks incurred. He further decreed that not more than the principal sum lent and three years' interest should be recoverable by them. But these restrictions failed to quench the general animosity felt against them. In 1290 fifteen or sixteen thousand were compelled to leave the country. This was followed by a more complete measure of expulsion in 1358, and from that time, although Jewish names are occasionally found, the Jews as a body dis-

appeared from England, until their recall by Cromwell in the seventeenth century. Many of their bonds are still preserved in the original presses in the ancient Star Chamber of Westminster Abbey.

As an importer of articles of luxury, which could not be manufactured at home, the foreign merchant was welcome to the king, the nobles, and the wealthy clergy. Upon this point both the parties to the Great Charter were agreed. At the beginning of his reign John, discerning that a liberal treatment of importers was the most profitable policy for the Exchequer, forbade the practice of exacting capricious and unreasonable duties. By the forty-first and forty-second articles of the Great Charter, security for persons and goods, together with freedom of trade in time of peace, were guaranteed to all merchants. They were to be exempt from all 'evil tolls' (*sine omnibus malis toltis*). The extension of this provision to all merchants, as well English as foreign, was intended to reconcile the towns to the facilities afforded to their alien competitors. But the interpretation of the term 'evil tolls' remained a subject of dispute down to the reign of Edward III, when it was finally held to mean all tolls exacted without authority of Parliament.

Notwithstanding the charter, the great towns constantly asserted a right to subject 'foreign' merchants, that is, all not free of their privileges, whether English or alien born, to their own by-laws. In the early part of the thirteenth century the *Liber Custumarum* of the city of London systematized the supervision exercised over the transactions of the foreign merchant. He was bound to take up his abode in the house of a citizen: he might not sell any wares by retail; he might not buy cloth in an unfinished stage of manufacture with a view to finishing it himself; he might only buy of freemen of the city; he might not buy to sell again within the city; he might only sell to persons not free of the city on three days of the week; he might only sell within a circuit of three miles; he might not bid against a freeman of the city; he might only remain in the city forty days, at the end of that time he must forfeit all his wares remaining unsold. There is reason for believing that some of these restrictions dated from the days before the Conquest.

This jealous care for the profit of the citizen was not confined to London; it existed, in varying degrees of rigour, in all the great towns, and it was not less prevalent on the continent than in England. It was justified upon exactly the same ground as that insisted upon by modern Protectionism, that the citizens had special burdens to bear, from which foreigners were exempt. During the reign of Henry III foreign merchants, encouraged by the king, swarmed into England. The citizens of London complained that foreign merchants, especially those from Italy and Provençe, had ceased to observe the regulations prescribing their lodgement, and were building themselves dwelling-houses, in which they stored their goods. But the city, being in alliance with the opposition, received little favour from Henry, beyond the destruction of the aliens' private weights and measures. In 1266 he nominated Prince Edward protector of the foreign merchants in England. Edward's liberal treatment of foreigners, to whom he granted special trading privileges by licences issued by royal prerogative, increased the hostility of the city. In 1285 he seized its liberties. Under his administration the grossest abuses of its privileges were suppressed. He put an end to a vexatious system of hindering the unloading of merchants' goods. He tolerated no delays of justice, but insisted that the sheriffs should give daily audience to foreign complainants; he made it easy for them to acquire the freedom of the city, with its consequent privileges. But the expulsion of the Jews had whetted the national antipathy to foreigners. The commons complained that the foreign merchants lorded it in the city (*dominantur in civitate*). In 1298, when the city's charter was restored, the city at once enforced its vexatious ordinances. Edward retorted in 1303 by the *Carta Mercatoria*, a charter of privilege to all alien merchants trading throughout the kingdom. They in return consented to an increase of duties, which an assembly of English merchants had refused to grant. This tariff was long known as the New Custom (*Nova Custuma*). Its most important item was an increase of fifty per cent. upon exported wool and leather.

The importance of this charter lay in the fact that it elevated to the rank of a national question a dispute which had hitherto

ranged round the limited area of the privileges of the towns respectively concerned, and that it established a policy for the kings who were to follow. Edward pledged both himself and his successors to accord peace and security to all alien merchants. He conceded to them the right to sell their wares wholesale to all, whether citizens or strangers. No check was to be put on exports, provided the duties were paid, so that the vexatious prohibition to re-export imported but unsold goods was abolished, except as regards wine, in the case of which a royal licence was to be procured; restrictions upon lodging, sojourn, and storing of goods were abolished; in actions at law in which aliens were parties at issue with Englishmen, half the jury was to consist of members of the alien party's nationality; a special tribunal was erected for aliens, to which appeal lay against delays of justice by the mayor and sheriffs. In return for these concessions the alien merchants agreed to the 'New Custom,' with the proviso that no duty was to be levied on the sale by them of wool to other aliens within the kingdom. The pledges given by the Great Charter were now made a reality.

2. General Sketch (continued): 1300–1485.

The first struggle between the trading and aristocratic classes regarding the rights of aliens had ended in favour of the king and nobles. In the Parliament of 1309 the Commons complained of the rise of prices, attributing them to the new duties. The barons, eager to buy wine and foreign cloth cheap, supported and obtained the abolition of the new duties. In 1311, after a prolonged struggle, the new allies succeeded in procuring the repeal of the principal clauses of the *Carta Mercatoria* as infringing the Great Charter.

Edward III, upon his accession, was in no condition to resist the pressure of the towns. The national jealousy of foreigners, lately directed against the Jews, was now transferred to the Italians. Of these the Florentines were the most successful. They enjoyed a practical monopoly of the tin of Devon and Cornwall. The Cornish had complained to Parliament in 1315 that they beat down prices and starved the tinners. They were

dominant in the wool trade. One John Van, with his Lombard partners, farmed the Exchange. They made large advances to the Crown; but a competing class of English capitalists was arising, with aims more ambitious than those of hampering alien merchants in the transaction of their business. William de la Pole, of Edward I's recently founded town of Kingston-upon-Hull, was amassing an enormous fortune by speculation in wool, and by the farm of the wool tax. Newcastle was becoming prosperous by its coal trade, London by its shipping, Gloucestershire by its cloth trade. The mercers, the drapers, the pepperers were already known as wealthy gilds. The year of the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War, 1338, was marked by an act which showed Edward's determination to dispense henceforth with the assistance of foreign capitalists. He ordered the arrest of all the Italian merchants in the kingdom, with the exception of certain Florentines, to whom he was specially indebted. In 1339, being pressed for ready money, he first offered to the English merchants the purchase of the great subsidy of 30,000 sacks of wool voted by Parliament. There was some difficulty on the part of the merchants in completing this transaction; but after 1345, when Edward repudiated his debts to the Italians, an English combination of capitalist merchants appeared, who succeeded to their business, and styled themselves 'the king's merchants.'

Notwithstanding these transfers of the finance of the State in great measure to English capitalists, Edward III had no intention to discourage foreign trade. On the contrary, from the year 1351 to 1354, he passed a number of statutes in favour of alien merchants. He abolished the principle of corporate liability for crime or debt, by which members of a whole nationality were exposed to the arrest and the seizure of their goods for the default of one of their number. He allowed sales on board ships in harbour, which checked the rapacity of municipal officers. He laid upon the Chancellor and Treasurer the duty of hearing complaints by alien merchants. He allowed their oath to be taken by the Customers as to the contents of their imported cargoes. He relieved them from the exactions of the royal purveyors. With the object of

improving the prosperity of the English staple towns, he took, in 1353, the extraordinary step of prohibiting the export of wool by Englishmen, so that foreign merchants might be attracted to the country.

Royal favour to the alien had now reached high water-mark, and the ebb forthwith set in. But it was not until the close of Edward III's reign that the change showed itself. In 1376 the rights of keeping lodgings, of acting as broker, and of retail trading were taken away from aliens. A petition to limit their sojourn and restrict their trading with each other was rejected. On the accession of Richard II the Londoners demanded the confirmation of their charters, any statutes to the contrary notwithstanding. But again complaint was made in Parliament that prices were rising. In 1378, therefore, Parliament passed a statute of which the preamble inveighs against 'the great damages and outrageous grievances' caused by the discouragement of merchant strangers. The privileges of the towns were for the most part swept away. Alien merchants were to be free to come and abide within the realm, and to buy and sell in gross and by retail provisions and small wares. Wines and a few specified manufactures, not including cloth, they must sell in gross only. In 1381 came the rebellion of Wat Tyler, whose following massacred the Flemish bankers and weavers. Richard II, grateful for the city's aid, confirmed its privileges. On the eve of his dethronement, in 1398, he renewed those of all the towns of the realm. But his usurping successor, Henry IV, was no less anxious to conciliate the city. In 1404 he passed an Act which opened the door to every abuse. It provided that the treatment of 'merchant strangers' should be regulated by that in use abroad. This vague legislation practically placed the foreigner at the mercy of the municipal authorities. By another Act of the same year merchant strangers were compelled to sell their merchandise within a quarter of a year; they were forbidden to trade with one another; and lastly, the old regulation that they should be lodged with assigned hosts was re-enacted. Whether designedly or not, the restrictions imposed by this Act extended to all 'strangers,' and were interpreted by the citizens of London to exclude

all dealings between aliens and English traders not free of the city. Within a year the complaints of the country cloth dealers at the injury to their trade had made themselves heard. In 1406 a fresh Act was passed, admitting them to trade directly with alien merchants, the franchises of the city notwithstanding.

But the Crown held in reserve a power which nullified, at its will, the operation of Acts of Parliament. Dispensations from the statutes were for centuries lavishly granted in favour of the foreign merchant. On the accession of Henry VI the Commons voted the tax called tonnage on the express condition that the Acts against restricting the dealings of foreign merchants should not be enforced. But the Chancellor, Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who was largely involved in trading enterprises with the Netherlands, so favoured aliens, especially Flemings, that in 1425 an insurrection took place in the city. In 1436 the city's complaints took shape in the well-known poem called *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*. This was followed by a reaction in opinion among the governing classes, the expression of which was an Act of 1439, enforcing the existing restrictions, and placing foreign merchants under the most rigorous supervision of English hosts. But the excessive severity of its provisions defeated the object of the Act. It drove the foreign merchants, especially the Italians, out of the towns into the country, where they traded directly with the producer. At its expiration, after eight years, it was not renewed. During the rest of the reign of Henry VI the towns did not cease their complaints. All the satisfaction they obtained was the raising of the customs duties and the imposition of a poll tax upon foreigners. With the advent to power of the House of York in 1461 a change in policy at once appeared. The Yorkists enjoyed the support of the towns. In return they studied the towns' interests. Edward IV made the first systematic endeavour to bring within the existing municipal organizations those bodies of foreign workmen, such as the weavers, who had up till then maintained an independence. In 1463 he checked the growing activity of the Italian wool-buyers by prohibiting purchases of wool by aliens altogether—a

measure in response to the complaints of the English cloth-workers. He was also the first to adopt a strongly protectionist policy. Still more anxious was Richard III to conciliate the commercial classes. In the first year of his reign (1484) he passed a remarkable Act 'touching the merchants of Italy.' The preamble set forth that the Italians and Catalans kept households in London and other cities, wherein they stored their merchandise until the price had risen; that they freely sold and bought, both by wholesale and by retail, all over the country; that they violated the laws on the subject of exchange; that they acted as hosts for their fellow countrymen; that they employed clothworkers to make cloth to suit their own taste, these clothworkers being also aliens; and that these proceedings were the cause of the increasing decay of the towns. The Act, therefore, provided that Italian merchants should thereafter sell their wares within eight months of landing them, to English subjects and in gross. Two months further were allowed them within which to carry away the goods remaining unsold. With the proceeds of sale they were to buy English goods. Merchant strangers were not to act as hosts or guests to one another, unless they were of the same nation. No non-naturalized alien was to act as middleman between English subjects in the purchase and sale of wool or of woollen cloth. None such should employ workmen in the manufacture of cloth. But the most important provision of all was that which forbade any Italian merchant, unless naturalized, to sell wool or woollen cloth bought within the realm, or to employ workmen to make cloth. The statute was, in fact, a great measure for the protection not only of the town, but also of the country industries, now important enough to make themselves heard. The restrictions imposed by the ordinances of the towns had brought them into being. To these, and not to the merchant strangers, were imputable that 'greate poverte and dekay' of the towns complained of in the preamble. Another Act, passed in the same session, regulating the cloth manufacture, contained a clause directed against the Italians, forbidding them to export selected wool, 'but that the same wool be as it is shorn.' The policy of keeping the fine wools for the home manufacture

was habitually advocated by the party of protection to native industry.

3. General Sketch (continued): 1485–1600.

A complete reversal of this policy, so far as Italian merchants were concerned, marked the accession of Henry VII (1485). This was, perhaps, partly a return for financial assistance towards the invasion of England derived from the Italians, who had always supported the House of Lancaster. But it was also probably due to the perception of the English class which was essentially Lancastrian, the country gentry, that restrictions upon purchasers were not favourable to the price of their produce. On the other hand, Henry sought to conciliate the country clothworkers by renewing an Act of 1465, which prohibited the purchase of wool before clipping. A right of pre-emption was reserved to the clothworkers in the first place, and after them to English merchants. This Act was not renewed on its expiration in 1499. It was revived in 1531, and again, four years after its expiration, in 1545. But its effectiveness was always paralysed by royal letters of licence. When in 1552 Parliament passed a similar measure, it incorporated in it the unusual clause that the Act should be revocable by royal proclamation, a large concession to prerogative.

The general policy of Henry VII was one of lavish encouragement to foreigners by the issue of letters of licence, profitable alike to him and to them, dispensing them from the obligations imposed by the various restrictive statutes in nominal force. National indignation waxed high. In 1514, after the accession of Henry VIII, the trading companies of the whole kingdom, supported by the handicrafts, joined in a petition to the king. They affirmed that the multitude of immigrant aliens was such as to exclude Englishmen from all kinds of occupation. They recounted the former restrictive statutes. But they did not venture upon any higher demand than the suppression of retail dealing by aliens in the towns. Even this minimum of demand was not granted. Among the handicrafts the pent-up ill feeling disclosed itself in 1517, in the riot against alien artificers long known as 'Evil May Day.' But Wolsey's govern-

ment held on its course. In 1525 a treaty was concluded with France giving full freedom of trade to French merchants. It contained, it is true, a customary clause in favour of existing restrictions, but these remained unenforced. The value of such clauses in foreign treaties was that of a weapon held in reserve in case of emergency. Aided by the exercise of the royal prerogative, alien merchants had succeeded in rendering these restrictions obsolete. But the government was now beginning to substitute its own control for the ineffective supervision of municipal authorities.

A series of documents has been printed, extending from the accession of Henry VII to the end of the next century, which sets forth the grievances felt by alien merchants against the restrictions imposed on their trade in this country. Their complaints range themselves under three heads—complaints against English commercial law, such as the Navigation Acts, &c.; complaints against the customs duties; and complaints against officials, both those of the Crown and of the city of London. These complaints against the city become louder towards the close of the period, but subject to specific changes effected by statute, the general tenor of grievances was the same throughout. Of all the grievances complained of, especially by the French, the principal was the grievance of the Navigation Acts.

With all foreign merchants it remained, throughout the whole period included in this retrospect, a common grievance that they were compelled to take English goods in exchange for their imports. Not that they conceived the accumulation of the precious metals to be the object of trade. This, the 'mercantile theory,' was not yet developed. But it would have been a far more profitable transaction for them to have received money and exchanged it with the Hanse for tin and hides than to be compelled to submit to the exorbitant additions to the cost of production made by the monopoly of the staplers. This compulsion to take English goods in exchange rested upon statutes of 1402, 1404, 1423, 1465, and 1478, of which the object was rather to secure the country against a depletion of the precious metals than to enrich it by an accumulation of them.

Since, with the exception of cloth, England's exports were raw material, her imports, had trade been unfettered, would naturally have been manufactured articles. To counteract this tendency statutes were passed, especially by the Yorkist sovereigns, protecting English finished products. It must be remembered of medieval protectionist Acts that a counterpoise to their natural operation of raising prices was held in reserve by municipal authorities and the legislature. This was the power of fixing prices constantly exercised in the case of commodities in general demand. To the foreign merchant there was no compensation. He could import such commodities as spices, which enjoyed no protection, or such articles of apparel and luxury as escaped the meshes of the protectionist statutes. Such included finer kinds of cloth than the English manufacturer could produce, and silks. Or he could import victuals, except so far as checked by the protectionist corn law passed by Edward IV in 1463, excluding corn when the price in the home market was below 6*s.* 8*d.* a quarter. But the natural market was London, and the merchant who brought in foodstuffs at once came into collision with the city's privileges. London, like other towns, enjoyed the right of fixing the prices of victuals. The assessments, it can well be believed, did not always give satisfaction to the seller, who was denied the alternative of removing his goods to another market. As security against this, the practice in London was for a city officer to preside over the sales, and to retain the money received until the whole stock had been disposed of. Though by custom the mayor was empowered to fix prices for all such importers, as well native as foreign, the alien merchants constantly complained that Englishmen selling victuals in the same market were not subjected to interference. Worse than this, the rights of purveyance were exercised, and the imported victuals seized as for the king until the English merchants had concluded their sales. Having thus reserved to his countrymen the advantages of a monopoly market, the mayor raised the arrest and availed himself of his powers of assessment for the benefit of the consumer.

In addition to all these obstacles to freedom of trade, an in-

finite multiplicity of petty exactions was devised, alike by the officers of the king and by those of the municipalities. Some four-and-twenty of these occur in the numerous complaints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. 'Capitage,' or head-money, charges by the searchers for searching the ships for wares contrary to statute, charges by the customers upon the bonds taken for the payment of customs and for the purchase of English goods in exchange for the cargo, charges for the entries on the customs' rolls, charges for taking declarations of the merchandise, for permits to discharge, for anchorage, for 'groundage,' for lighterage, which was compulsory, for boat hire—all these had to be met before the cargo could be landed. Everywhere there were market tolls. In the city of London there was a special exaction, called 'scavage,' before goods could be exposed for sale. Wharfage, carriage, and package, the last in the case of goods for export, were also levied. The foreign exporter from the port of London further paid a local duty called 'water-bailage.' Two other exactions were called 'cranage' and 'cocket money,' the last being a fee for the customer's certificate of payment of export duties. Decade after decade the complaints of these exactions were renewed. According to the complainants, who from time to time laid their case before the Privy Council, the exactions were either new or enhanced. The common form of defence was that they dated from time immemorial. In 1505 the city of London resorted to forgery to establish this contention. The forgery being manifest, Bishop Foxe, as President of the Council, ordered the erasure of thirteen articles in dispute. But the citizens only awaited a favourable opportunity to renew their demands.

4. The Hanse.

The foundation of the German or Teutonic Hanse has already been mentioned. Its special privileges may be said to date from the *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303, since for more than two centuries the Hanse was the only body of alien merchants that was able to insist on its observance. Edward II granted it a most important privilege, abolishing in its favour the principle of corporate liability for debt, the debtor himself and his sureties

alone to be answerable. Under Edward III and Richard II constant attempts were made to invade its privileges, especially on the ground of the alleged ill treatment of English subjects in the Hanse towns. The secret of its successful resistance to kings and parliaments was the fact that it was the dominant naval power in the northern seas, from which the men-of-war of the Hanseatic league could have excluded English merchants altogether. Henry IV raised the customs duties against the Hanse, but Henry V's financial exigencies compelled him to confirm it in its ancient privileges. The accession of Edward IV with a strong nationalist policy was followed by some vexatious pecuniary exactions, and limitations of the Hanse privileges would undoubtedly have been undertaken but for the occurrence of an extraordinary crisis in domestic politics. In the autumn of 1470 a sudden rising replaced Henry VI upon the throne, and Edward IV was driven to the continent. In his extremity he applied for succour to the Hanse. Aided by its men and money he succeeded in regaining his kingdom in the following year. For this service the Hanse reaped its reward. The Treaty of Utrecht, negotiated in 1473, and ratified by Edward in February, 1474, not only renewed its ancient privileges, but granted them considerable extension. By this treaty the Hanse was promised the king's protection against the unauthorized exactions of the customers and port officials, and against the competing privileges of the city of London. Two judges were to be specially nominated for the hearing of causes in which it was involved. This was, in fact, a ratification and extension of a right which had been conceded to it by the city as early as 1282. It was to be allowed a weigher and cloth measurer of its own. It was to be exempt from certain internal tolls, and to enjoy the right of selling Rhenish wine by retail, &c. In return, the English were to trade freely in the territories of the Hanse and to be protected against new imposts. The Hanse had now reached the zenith of its prosperity in this country.

The advantages enjoyed by the Hanse in the matter of customs were very remarkable. The 'custom' on the piece of undyed cloth was, for English exporters *1s. 2d.*, for the

Hanse 1*s.*, for other aliens 2*s.* 9*d.* On dyed cloth, for English 2*s.* 4*d.*, for the Hanse 2*s.*, for other aliens 5*s.* 6*d.* For other than staple wares English exporters paid 1*s.* in the pound *ad valorem* as subsidy, aliens generally the same, besides a 'custom' of 3*d.* in the pound *ad valorem*, but the Hanse only this last item. It imported into England bacon, copper, steel, silver plate, wax, linen, materials for shipping, wine, and beer. Even the protectionist *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* approved of this part of its trade. It carried out cloth undyed, and in the early stages of manufacture, to be finished abroad. At the close of the reign of Henry VIII, during which great attention had been given to shipping, it still exported 22 per cent. of the cloth, imported 97 per cent. of the wax, and enjoyed 6 per cent. of the trade in other commodities.

In 1467, four years before the Hanse had, by aiding his restoration, earned the gratitude of Edward IV, he had passed a protectionist measure adverse to its interest prohibiting the export of unfulled cloth and of woollen yarn. This was, in fact, a re-enactment of a statute of 1376, which, however, does not seem to have been enforced against the Hanse. Although by the subsequent Treaty of Utrecht all its privileges were conserved, Henry VII, in 1487, passed an Act extending that of 1467, by the requirement that exported cloths should first have gone through the processes of being 'barbed, rowed, and shorn.' The law was set in motion against the Hanse. The Hanse claimed exemption upon the ground of the first article of the *Carta Mercatoria* permitting, in general terms, the export of commodities purchased in England. It similarly claimed exemption from another Act of 1487, renewing Acts of many previous sovereigns, compelling foreign merchants to exchange the money received for their goods for English commodities. It complained, too, that the inhabitants of Hull, in accordance with the terms of the Act, insisted that the exchange should take place in the port of import. A consequence of insistence by the provincial ports upon this right was to drive their trade to London, since that was by far the best market in which to purchase English commodities. The accounts of the port of London show that while the duties there paid averaged 49·5 per

cent. of the whole kingdom in the reign of Henry VII, they had risen to 66·1 per cent. in that of Henry VIII, while the percentage of all other ports had fallen. By 1582 London had monopolized 86·4 per cent. of the whole foreign trade of the country. Not content with these measures, Henry VII, who never forgave the Hanse for its alliance with the Yorkists, devised a blow which threatened the very foundations of its prosperity. The Hanse towns were the carriers of Europe. Their imports were brought from Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Flanders, Brabant, Germany, and France. Among the privileges granted them by Edward III was that of entering English ports *cum mercandisis suis quibuscunque, de muragio, pontagio et pavagio liberi et quieti.* It was now contended by the English lawyers that by the word *suis* was intended only such products as were actually native to the territories of the Hanse. Against such an interpretation, conflicting with the usage of more than a century, the Hanse vehemently protested. To them it was a point of vital consequence; and, as such, was utilized by the English as a weapon to extort the right for English merchants to trade freely within the territory of Danzig. The appearance of Perkin Warbeck, who, with the support of the Hanse, would have proved a formidable enemy, disposed Henry to acquiesce in the *status quo*, and an agreement was made at Antwerp in 1491 confirming in general terms the Treaty of Utrecht. This was followed by a brisk revival in the Hanse trade with England. Owing, also, to the patronage of Perkin Warbeck by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, direct commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands ceased. The Hanse at once stepped in and took up the trade. English merchants were compelled to stand by and see the Hansards fill the shops of London with Flemish goods. In 1492 a riot ensued, which led to an unsuccessful attack on the Steelyard. Considerations of popularity, as well as of policy, henceforth united in urging Henry to carry forward at the first favourable opportunity his measures against the Hanse. He compelled them to enter into a bond of £20,000 to abstain from trading between England and the duchess's territories. The terms of the bond were wide, 'from this time forth' (*exnunc*), with no clause rendering the bond void in the

event of the restoration of amicable relations. Upon this omission, doubtless intentional, hung the future fortunes of the Hanse. Henry, meanwhile, was sensible of the danger of forcing the Hanse into an active alliance with the duchess, and, after the attempt of Perkin Warbeck had failed, an agreement was arrived at, negotiated by Archbishop Warham, renewing the *status quo ante* till 1501, a term subsequently extended to 1504. The political dangers still surrounding Henry were then such as to induce him to pass an Act 'for the Stillyard' confirming the Hanse in all its privileges, though with an important proviso for those of the city of London.

The rapid increase of trade in the country, consequent upon the cessation of the Wars of the Roses, and the growing activity of English shipping in the northern seas, supplied plentiful occasions of friction with the Hanse during the succeeding years. Wolsey revived against them the whole category of ingenious chicane which had been set in motion by Henry VII. A congress for the settlement of reciprocal complaints was held at Bruges in 1520. The Hanse maintained that the Treaty of Utrecht was an absolute engagement by the English kings for themselves and their successors, the English that it was conditional on good behaviour, and had, in fact, been forfeited by the Hansards' infractions of various commercial statutes. But in the critical condition of foreign affairs Wolsey had no desire to provoke the Hanse to desperation. They, on their part, were solicitous to retain as much as possible of their lucrative trade. A compromise was, therefore, agreed to in 1522 upon the basis of the *status quo* which, in effect, conceded to the English most of their demands, until a new convention could be arranged.

Notwithstanding the animosity of the commercial classes to the Hanse, Henry VIII did not deem it prudent, after his rupture with the Papacy, to alienate a power whose alliance would have been invaluable in the event of a general combination against him. The Hanse, on their part, were forward to conciliate the court and ministry. When, in 1546, a famine occurred in England, the Hanse, by their promptitude in furnishing supplies, earned the acknowledgements of the Privy Council. But this

very action had the effect of hastening their downfall. The quarter of wheat fell in 1547 to 4*s.* 11*d.*, whereas in 1545 it had stood at 15*s.* 6¾*d.* No doubt this was due, in the main, to abundant harvests. By the agricultural classes it was ascribed to excessive foreign importations. Hitherto, despite the jealousies of the commercial classes, the landed proprietors had stood by the Hanse. When, at the accession of Henry VIII, the Commons had voted a subsidy, imposing it upon Hansards as upon other aliens, the Lords had inserted a proviso for their exemption. When Bills regulating commerce came before them, the Lords persistently inserted like exempting clauses. But with a plethora of wheat deluging the country the hand of every man of the influential classes had joined against the Hanse. Their ruin was but a question of means. In 1551 the Hanse were cited before the Privy Council at the suit of the Merchant Adventurers. The chief gravamen against them was the alleged violation of the terms of their charter, *cum mercandisis suis.* 'This yeare (1551) . . . in October, the liberties of the Stiliard were seazed into the kinges handes.' For some time longer the Hanse merchants were permitted to trade upon the basis of the traditional customs duties by royal licences confining them to traffic in their own (*suis*) commodities. With the accession of Mary came a turn in the tide of their fortunes. The decline of the Hanse was prejudicial to the Spanish provinces of the Netherlands. The negotiations for the Spanish marriage were already on foot. It was, therefore, an act of policy to revoke the confiscatory decree of 1551. On October 24, 1553, the privileges of the Hanse, subject to the English lawyers' interpretation of *cum mercandisis suis*, were restored.

The commercial classes were at once in arms. In December, 1554, a long information against the malpractices of the 'Easterlings' was lodged with the Privy Council by a number of merchants. In February, 1555, the Merchant Adventurers presented a petition to the same effect. The city of London added complaints of its own. The case came before the Privy Council in 1556. By a decree of March 23, 1557, the Hanse were found guilty of an abuse of their privileges in the export of cloths, and

a diet for the settlement of disputes was fixed for the following year. The Hanse alleged that the summons to the diet was made at too short notice. They failed to appear, but in September held a diet of their own at Lübeck and published a formal protest to the queen. They demanded a rescission of certain decrees of the Privy Council restrictive of their trade, and a restoration of the *status quo ante*, with a view to a conference. The queen replied (October 6, 1557) setting forth the English complaints, and maintaining that the decree of Edward VI repealing their privileges was not annulled, but only suspended. The Hanse towns retorted by boycotting English goods in their ports and ill-treating English merchants. Elizabeth, uncertain of the security of her throne, was long unwilling to break with a power which would prove a valuable ally against a papal confederation. For twenty years she kept them in suspense as to her ultimate intentions. At last, in 1578, she prohibited them, in common with other foreigners, to export wool, her object being to encourage the new settlements of Flemish weavers. The Hanse retaliated by levying a duty of $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on English imports into their territories. Elizabeth replied with a like duty upon all their exports and imports. In 1589 she seized in the Tagus sixty cargoes of munitions and provisions shipped by the Hanse to the Spanish Government. Angry remonstrances followed. These proving fruitless, the Hanse procured the expulsion of the Merchant Adventurers from Germany. Elizabeth, thereupon, in 1597, forfeited their privileges, closed the Steelyard, and expelled them the kingdom.

5. The Staple and the Merchant Adventurers.

The trading corporation, styled the Merchant Adventurers, which fought this battle against the foreigner to a successful issue, had come into existence some time in the thirteenth century. It claimed a charter from John, Duke of Brabant, dated 1216, constituting it an organization analogous to the Hanse, for the purpose of trade in the Netherlands. A corresponding organization was established in England under the name of the Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury. From

this, in the reign of Edward III, sprang the Mercers' Company, and in 1407 an offshoot of the Company received its final form as the Company of Merchant Adventurers, and was granted a house or factory at Antwerp. As the cloth industry grew, this Company increased in wealth and importance. The Merchant Adventurers were the exporters of manufactured goods; their elder rivals, the Merchants of the Staple, of raw materials. London was the headquarters of the Merchant Adventurers, but they had branches at Exeter, Newcastle, and elsewhere. So great were the advantages secured for them by their organization in the Netherlands, that with the development of mercantile enterprise after the Wars of the Roses, they found their ranks overcrowded. To enhance their monopoly, they imposed heavy fines, amounting to as much as £20 (about £240 of our money in value), upon new members when they entered the Company. In 1496, therefore, an Act was passed restricting the sum to ten marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*). In order to equalize among themselves the profits of the trade, they imposed a 'stint,' or maximum limit, to the number of cloths which it was permissible to a member to export to any of the four great annual marts at which their goods were disposed of in the Netherlands.

The causes which added to the prosperity of the Merchant Adventurers involved a corresponding decline in the fortunes of their rivals, the Merchants of the Staple. The Staple was the earliest governmental organization of English commerce. Its origin is lost in obscurity, but probabilities point to its formation, for fiscal purposes, by Edward I. Its object was to insure the collection of the royal customs by defining the channels of export for the staple produce of the country, wool, hides, and tin. A patent of 1313 dwells on the mischiefs arising from allowing merchants, whether native or alien, to ship wool to any port at choice, and orders 'the mayor and communaltie of merchants of the realm' to fix on a town in the Low Countries as a Staple to which all wool should be carried. Staple towns were also appointed for this country, where the wool could be collected, weighed, and customed. By the statute of Northampton in 1328, all Staples both at home and abroad were abolished. Nevertheless, the Staple existed in Flanders in

1343, probably on account of the convenience experienced in retaining a centre for trade. The Merchants of the Staple as an organized body came into existence in the reign of Edward III.

In 1353, Edward III made a new departure in policy. He removed the Staple from Bruges, where it then was, to England. The object of this was to avoid the restrictive regulations, harassing to trade, imposed by the men of Bruges, and to attract foreigners to this country. Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol were named Staple towns for England. The export of Staple goods was exclusively reserved for aliens, Englishmen being forbidden to engage in it. But the decay of the English mercantile marine, and therefore of the reserve of the royal navy, was soon discerned as the consequence. The Staple was removed from England to Calais, to Middleburgh, to Calais, to England and to Calais again, according to the aspect of foreign affairs. It was finally fixed at Calais in the reign of Richard II. An elaborate system was devised to insure that all Staple goods should be consigned to that port, except wool and tin allowed by the king's special licence to alien merchants to be transported 'beyond the straits of Morocco,' that is, as a rule, to Italy. Certain ports in England were assigned as ports of shipment for wool, and the shippers compelled to find security that the cargo should be discharged at Calais. The king's 'customer' at Calais then delivered to the shipper a certificate of the cargo, thus keeping a check upon the collectors of customs at the exporting ports, who were likewise compelled to return a register to the exchequer. By this supervision at the ports alike of shipment and discharge some check was put on smuggling, and this was only possible where the port of discharge was in English hands. But the final and determining reasons for fixing the Staple at Calais were, no doubt, political and military. There were also financial considerations in its favour. Successive governments had long endeavoured to check the displacement of English money by foreign coin of inferior weight and standard. For this end, royal exchanges had existed since the reign of Henry I, and in towns where coins were struck, as London and

York, these exchanges were associated with the mints. In proportion to the number of commercial channels of import and export, the difficulty of excluding foreign coin was increased. The appointment of Calais as sole Staple was the establishment of a neck through which the bulk of trade necessarily passed. When the English stapler sold his wool, he received payment in English money, exchanged at the Calais Mint for the foreign purchaser's coin. By this exchange the king derived a double benefit: he secured the commission paid on the exchange and averted the expense of recoinage, which would have been necessitated by an influx of foreign money. Lastly, the expenses of maintaining the fortifications and garrison of Calais were necessarily very heavy. Its creation as a Staple brought wealth into the town, and the government was enabled to transfer these duties to the Company of the Staple whom its measures had enriched.

The Merchants of the Staple appear to have originally consisted of those traders in Staple goods who naturally resorted to the Staple towns, whether in England or abroad. By the organizing statute of 1353 they were sworn to submit to the jurisdiction of the mayor and constables of the Staple. At Calais, the court of the Staple consisted of the mayor and aldermen. In it was administered the Law Merchant, with an appeal to the King's Court at Westminster.

The great impairers of the fortunes of the Staple during the fifteenth century were the kings themselves. It was a frequent practice with them to grant licences for export to other ports of Western Europe than Calais. Parliament made constant remonstrances, and in 1485 the legality of these licences was tried in the courts, the judges giving judgement for the Crown. An Act of 1449, complaining of the practice, states that the customs of Calais had stood at £68,000 a year in the reign of Edward III, and were then reduced to £12,000. In the time of Henry V the duties on wool were said to have exceeded fifty per cent. of the whole revenue. In the reign of Henry VII they averaged no more than thirty-six per cent. It was not until 1557 that the Government, by a change in the tariff, showed its recognition of the fact which had long been patent, that the staple trade

of England had ceased to be raw material, and was then become the manufacture of cloth. In 1558, on the loss of Calais, the Staple was removed to Bruges, and in 1561 a new charter was granted, confirming the former privileges. But thet rade of the Staple declined, owing to the superior concessions enjoyed by the Merchant Adventurers in the Netherlands.

While the cloth industry flourished, the worsted industry fell off. It had been established in Norfolk in the fourteenth century, having been imported from Flanders. Norwich, its centre, had become through it one of the wealthiest cities in the kingdom. But in the fifteenth century this industry was already failing. The cause was alleged to be fraudulent manufacture, impairing its reputation abroad. To check this, an elaborate Act regulating the manufacture was passed by Edward IV in 1467. Still the trade decayed, and in 1495 an Act was passed improving the training of apprentices, and repealing a statute of 1407, which limited their supply by imposing a pecuniary qualification upon the parents. For a while after this, as we learn from the preamble of a regulative Act of 1523, the trade prospered throughout the county of Norfolk. An Act of 1534 prohibited the exportation of worsted cloths in any unfinished state. It is possible that the Government's prescriptions for manufacture did not suit the demand abroad, for in 1542 we hear a complaint that the regrators were buying up worsted yarn and exporting it to France and Flanders, there to be made into worsted cloth. The export of yarn was accordingly forbidden. But the decline continued. The average export fell from 6,000 pieces for the first nineteen years of Henry VIII to 1,600 pieces for the last nine years. Meanwhile, the rival industry in the Netherlands flourished, and Norwich suffered, until in 1565 the barbarities of Alva and of the Inquisition were followed by the immigration of a thousand Flemish weavers.

From the twelfth century, when Richard I issued an Assize of Cloth, that manufacture was deemed by Government of sufficient importance to be dealt with by general legislation, rather than by the caprice of municipal authorities. The Assize of Cloth was enforced by *Magna Carta*. To promote the manufacture, the Oxford Parliament in 1258 prohibited the export of

wool. But the finer cloths were at this time imported from Flanders. Edward III, therefore, favoured by the disturbed state of affairs in the Netherlands, invited Flemish weavers to England. He abolished in their interest the standard measurements, and insured them a supply of raw material by again prohibiting for a while the export of wool. By the end of the century cloth was a common article of sale at all fairs, Cloth Fair, held near St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, being the most celebrated. The traders in cloth, the Mercers and Drapers, were already in the fourteenth century the chief of the trading companies of London and other towns. The tide of commerce began to turn. Instead of suffering from a flow of cloth from the Netherlands to England, the cloth of this country threatened that of the Netherlands, so that in 1434 the importation of English cloth into the Netherlands was entirely forbidden. After many vicissitudes of diplomacy, the treaty called in England *Intercursus Magnus*, but nicknamed in the Netherlands *Intercursus Malus*, was secured by Henry VII, in 1496, allowing free entry into Flanders of English cloth.

In the fifteenth century, the cloth industry spread from the towns to the country, where it was exempt from the vexatious regulations of the gilds. In the country it was carried on by the system known as domestic industry. The clothier delivered the material at the various stages of the manufacture to the several classes of artisans, supervised their work upon it, and sold it to the draper. In the sixteenth century we find the beginnings of a factory system, the celebrated Jack of Newbury having a hundred looms in his own house. This development was suppressed by the Weavers' Act of 1555, the design of which was to protect the handicraftsmen against the oppressions of capitalist employers. A new method of cloth manufacture began in the reign of Henry VIII, and continued through that of Elizabeth. The refugees from religious persecution in the Netherlands brought with them the 'new draperies,' slighter stuffs called 'bays and says.' They settled principally in Norwich and in the south-eastern counties.

The minor industries, though in the fifteenth century the central government frequently interfered in their regulation,

were for the most part controlled by gilds, to whose history they therefore properly belong.

The success of the Merchant Adventurers suggested them as a model for other trading companies. In 1554 the Muscovy Company was incorporated by Mary, with exclusive trading rights to Russia. The Eastland Company, with like rights to Scandinavia, Poland, Prussia, and Finland, was chartered by Elizabeth in 1579. The Turkey Company obtained a revocable charter in 1581, for seven years, which was finally made perpetual in 1605. Another such charter was granted to the Guinea Company in 1588.

6. The Currency.

From very early times the issue and control of the currency was a royal prerogative. But it was the practice of the earlier kings before the Conquest to grant the right of coinage to great persons. By a law of Æthelstan bishops were authorized to possess mints in various towns. The king received a seignorage, as we know from Domesday, upon change of dies. The highest unit of value at the time of the Conquest was the pound, that is, the pound of silver. There were three different divisions of the pound prevailing in various parts of England. They were (*a*) twenty shillings of twelve pence each, (*b*) forty-eight shillings of fivepence each, (*c*) sixteen ounces of sixteenpence each. A fourth division, used in Wales, was twelve ounces of twentypence each. Payment by weight was common till late in the Middle Ages, owing to the imperfect state of the coinage.

For a century and a half after the Conquest the coinage was, on the whole, inferior in quality to that of the earlier kings. The centralizing policy of Henry II embraced this department of administration, and minting became chiefly confined to London. As the export trade in wool increased, foreign money poured into the realm until Edward I undertook a reorganization of the currency. Search was to be made of all merchants and ships entering English ports, and foreign to be delivered up in exchange for English money. King's exchangers were appointed for this duty. With the troubled times of Edward II

the evil of a debased coinage reappeared. In conformity with the generalization from experience known as Gresham's law, that over-valued money drives under-valued money out of circulation, the bad foreign coins were expelling the improved English coinage of Edward I. To provide material for a fresh coinage an Act was passed in 1340 requiring exporters of wool to import bullion to the value of 13*s.* 4*d.* for every sack exported. A gold coinage was also struck for currency in both England and Flanders, and the export of any other coin prohibited. These measures proving unsuccessful, in 1351 an entirely new coinage of gold and of silver was issued, of the same fineness but of less weight, so that the new coins approximated to the old coins in value. Nevertheless, the scarcity of the precious metals was still felt in England, as elsewhere in Europe. An Act of Richard II, in 1381, complains that 'there is scarcely any gold or silver left.' Its exportation in any shape was forbidden. Where money was due abroad, exchange was to be effected by merchants in England with the king's licence, both for the persons from whom the payments were due and for the exchangers. These last were further sworn not to send any gold or silver abroad under cover of exchange. From the accounts of the king's exchangers, preserved in the Record Office, it appears that the charge for letters of exchange was a little more than 3½ per cent. The *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* states it at 1*s.* in the pound, or 5 per cent.

In 1421, Henry V projected a scheme of recoinage. To encourage the holders to bring their coins to the mint he provided, firstly, that they should there be exchanged for new coins at their nominal value; secondly, that payments between private persons should be by weight, and not by tale. The enforcement of this provision by creditors would naturally be an inducement to debtors to offer payment in the new coinage. These attractions, perhaps, caused too speedy a drain of the Government's store of bullion, for by a later statute of the same year a seignorage was charged of 5*s.* on the Tower pound of gold, and 15*d.* on that of silver.

The Acts of Henry VI show that, in the opinion of the Government, the prohibitions to export the precious metals

were ineffective. In 1423, a statute was passed compelling alien merchants to give security in Chancery, 'every Company for them of their Company,' for their observance of the regulations. This proving inadequate, Edward IV, in 1478, took the extraordinary step of making the export of gold or silver without licence a felony, that is, a capital offence. The dearth of money was increased, by the hoarding of Henry VII, to such a degree that private tokens did duty for silver coinage. In 1504 an Act was passed for the recoinage of silver, and Irish money was forbidden currency in England.

The extravagant penalty of the Act of 1478 had clearly failed in its object. The Act was renewed for twenty years in 1510, the punishment for exporting bullion being reduced to a forfeiture of double the value exported. Complaints were still made of the scarcity of money, which was thought to be due to export under cover of letters of exchange. A proclamation was, therefore, issued in 1530 forbidding exchanges. But the remonstrances of the merchants, and their assurances that this prohibition would certainly cause the evil it was designed to check, caused the Government to abstain from enforcement of the law. At last, in 1539, public opinion became enlightened. A royal proclamation gave a general dispensation from the statutes restraining foreign exchange. Shortly after this, in 1543, took place the first great debasement of the coinage. Precedents had occurred, but they had been confined to reductions of the weight of the coins. In 1300, Edward I coined the pound of silver into 243 pence. Under Edward III, in 1344, these had increased to 266, and in 1352 to 360 pence. Edward IV, in 1465, raised the number to 450 pence. In 1526 Henry VIII substituted the French pound Troy, weighing $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. more, for the Tower pound as the unit of weight, but he further reduced the weight of the silver penny, coining 540 pence out of the new pound, equal to $506\frac{1}{4}$ out of the old. He was the first king to lower the standard of fineness. Instead of 18 dwt. of alloy in 12 oz. of silver, the debasement increased the alloy to 2 oz. in twelve. In 1545, the alloy in the silver coinage was increased to 6 oz. in twelve; in 1546 to 8 oz. in twelve. Under Edward VI, in 1551, it rose to 9 oz. The shilling now con-

tained only $2\frac{3}{4}d.$ worth of silver, the worst money ever coined in England. Proclamations and statutes proving ineffective to control the consequent rise in prices, the disturbance of trade, and the exportation of the good coin, some improvement in the standard was made in 1552. In 1560 Elizabeth restored the standard to its old fineness, and reduced the number of pence in the pound of silver to 720, whereas in 1550 a pound of metal, of which three ounces only were silver, had been coined into 864 pence. In 1600 the number was fixed at 744 pence for the pound of silver, and at this it remained so long as silver continued to be the standard, that is till 1816.

7. The Road-system and the Water-ways.

At the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion Britain was covered with a network of Roman roads. Of these the four principal are still known as 'the four Roman ways.' The most famous of them is Watling Street. It ran from Dover to London, and from London zigzag through Chester and York, thence by two branches to Carlisle and the neighbourhood of Newcastle. The Fosse Way ran from Bath by way of Cirencester, Leamington, and Leicester to the great Roman settlement of Lincoln. The Ermin Street ran direct from London to Lincoln, and thence to Doncaster and York. Icknield Street, or the Ikenild Way, joined Southampton with Norwich through Silchester, Dunstable, and Newmarket. These main highways, so called because their construction raised them above the level of the contiguous soil, were connected by intersecting roads all over the country. The great junctions were Carlisle, Chester, Manchester, York, Doncaster, Lincoln, Caerleon, Silchester, Winchester, London, Dunstable, Colchester, and Canterbury. From the eighth century onwards the maintenance of these roads and of the bridges belonging to them formed one of the divisions of the *trinoda necessitas* then imposed on grantees of land. The peace of the four highways (*quatuor chimini*) was maintained by a special fine in the laws of Edward the Confessor. Under the Normans the general maintenance of highways was the duty of the manorial tenants, that of main road bridges of the hun-

dred, that of smaller bridges of the tithings. In chartered towns care of the roads and bridges fell upon the municipality. But these duties were so frequently neglected that the church encouraged the undertaking of them as pious works meriting indulgences. Accordingly, gilds came into existence with this object, like that of the Holy Cross at Birmingham in the reign of Richard II, which was reported by the commissioners of Edward VI as keeping in good repair two great stone bridges and divers foul and dangerous highways near the town. The duty of building and maintaining bridges and roads also continued after the Conquest to be attached to grants of land. The grantee was sometimes entitled to take *pontagium*, or bridge-toll. In some places, as at Huntingdon, bridge repairs were provided for by the voluntary offerings of passers-by. Sometimes, as at London and Rochester, a trust fund was provided by endowments of land for the bridge. In 1281, Edward I ordered the bishops to allow royal collectors to address 'pious exhortations' to the people for the repair of London Bridge. Complaints of the ruinous state of bridges are frequently found in the Rolls of Parliament. Conflicting jurisdictions constantly rendered doubtful the onus of the liability to make repairs. In such cases the Court of Chancery issued commissions for inquiry. Upon default proved, information lay in the King's Bench. The way-wardens in the courts of manors and the sheriffs in the counties were both bound to hold inquests of roads and bridges.

In 1285, Edward I took up the improvement of roads as a general measure of police. Highways to market towns were ordered to be enlarged and cleared of underwood for a space of two hundred feet on each side, so as to prevent ambuscades of highway robbers. But in the next century civil distractions, the scarcity of labour following the great pestilences, and the expenditure upon Edward III's wars, caused a general decay of highways and bridges. Parliaments were adjourned in 1331, 1339, and 1380, because the state of the roads prevented sufficient attendance. In 1344 and 1353 Edward III ordered the repair of the roads near London, and a collection of tolls for horses and carts. Other provincial towns established turnpikes

at their approaches for this purpose. In 1406 a complaint was made to Parliament that the sheriffs of various counties were enforcing unreasonable fines upon the religious houses and the secular clergy for the repair of highways. According to the complainants the highways were, as a matter of fact, kept in sufficient repair. It was necessary for Henry IV to maintain good relations with the clergy. The reply of the Crown, therefore, was a caution to the sheriffs against excessive zeal, rather than a censure upon those guilty of dereliction of duty. Nevertheless, commissions for the repair of causeways and bridges were from time to time issued by this king and his successors.

The rapid growth of internal trade, after the cessation of the Wars of the Roses, soon demanded the attention of the legislature to the state of the roads. At first public opinion seems to have been unprepared to revive the method of Edward I, by the adoption of a general measure for the whole country. In 1523 Parliament passed an Act to encourage landowners in the weald of Kent to make new roads, and this Act was extended to Sussex two years later. In 1530, a general Act was passed dealing with bridges. This empowered the Justices of the Peace, in cases where the liability to repair was doubtful, to rate the inhabitants of counties and of corporate towns for the repair of bridges and of the highways within three hundred feet of either end of them. To these magistrates was thenceforth entrusted the care of their maintenance. In the case of Chester provision was made, by an Act of 1545, for a permanent highway overseer of two miles and a half of road leading to that city. Acts were passed for paving the streets of London and Westminster and the neighbourhood in 1533, 1534, 1540, and 1543. All of their preambles describe the perilousness and noisomeness of the roads. At last, in 1555, a general Act was passed for roads upon the model of the Bridge Act of 1530. Every parish was bound to elect two road surveyors at Easter, and the parishioners to give four days' labour before midsummer for their maintenance and repair. This measure was doubtless rendered urgent by the dissolution of the monasteries, of which the wealthier had

maintained the roads as a pious work. A succession of Acts followed under Elizabeth enlarging the provisions of the Act of 1555.

More useful than the roads to internal trade were the water-ways. The forests attracted rain, and brooks, of which the courses have now silted up till the stream is both shallow and narrow, are recorded in Domesday to have been navigable by vessels. The trade backwards and forwards with the continent was carried inland by water. Hence inland towns, such as York and Doncaster, are spoken of by chroniclers as 'ports,' and enjoyed rights of 'wrecks at sea.' This use of rivers checked the number of bridges, as being obstacles to navigation, and made fords and ferries of importance. Traders and river-side dwellers were constantly on the alert to oppose hindrances to free passage. It was of importance, therefore, to thriving towns to secure grants giving them the control of the water-ways on which they were situate. By a charter of Richard I the citizens of London obtained the right of putting down all weirs on the Thames, and a general authority over its waters. The twenty-third article of *Magna Carta* is a general prohibition of weirs in rivers. Under Henry III these prohibitions were enforced; but in the stormy days of Edward II a general disregard for law showed itself. In 1314 the merchants of Bristol complained to Parliament of the hindrance to their trade with Hereford caused by the weirs on the Wye. About the same date the merchants of London trading with Oxford complained of like obstructions on the Thames, Richard I's charter notwithstanding. In 1351 Edward III resolved on a strong measure. He passed an Act for the removal of all obstructions placed in rivers since the time of Edward I. As that king had strenuously enforced the law, this retrospective limit probably covered the Thames case. But the interests of the manufacturing industry continued to assert themselves, and weirs and mills were presently constructed. Parliament, therefore, in 1371 attached the great penalty of a hundred marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*) to this offence. Still the Commons complained, though now only of the obstructions erected prior to the reign of Edward I, which shows that the measures of the Government

had proved effectual. Commissions were accordingly issued in 1398 to Justices of the Peace to destroy all of them which were a nuisance to navigation. These measures were enforced by Henry IV in Acts of 1399 and 1402. But in 1423 complaints were made that the law was ineffectively executed in Kent, Surrey, and Essex, and fresh commissions were issued. The conflict of interests, however, was now becoming more equal, for in 1464 Edward IV, who solicitously courted the favour of the manufacturers, refused a petition of the Commons to enforce the statutes of 1351 and 1371 in the case of the Severn and its tributaries. Nevertheless, in 1472, after his restoration, the shipping and mercantile interests prevailed. Appeal was made to *Magna Carta*, offenders ordered to destroy obstructions themselves, and a fine of a hundred marks imposed upon defaulters. Special Acts were passed for Southampton Water in 1495 and 1523, and for the Ouse and Humber in 1532. These measures do not prove that the Government confined the enforcement of the law to the more important water-ways, for the *Domestic State Papers* show that throughout Henry VIII's reign the policy of suppression of obstructions was everywhere rigorously maintained, especially under Thomas Cromwell, himself of the merchant class. On the other side was an industry rapidly acquiring a paramount importance, the cloth manufacture. An Act of 1555 sets forth the injury done to the city of Hereford by the destruction of two fulling mills and two corn mills on the Wye in 1528. The Dean and Chapter were now authorized to rebuild them. The change had set in. After this time the prohibitory statutes were suffered to fall into desuetude.

The constant use of the water-ways, disclosed by the history of these measures, accounts for a remarkable economic fact, the cheapness of land transport. Thorold Rogers has been inclined to infer from it that, before the dissolution of the monasteries, the roads were really well kept, an inference not warranted by the language of the Rolls of Parliament. Land-carriage was chiefly on horseback or sumpter mules. Rude two-wheeled carts were constructed in the villages from very early times. They are represented in MSS. as boxes of planks

on wheels studded with great nails. The cost of carriage naturally varied with the nature of the article. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century we know, from Rogers' investigations, that twopence a ton per mile was the average charge for carrying heavy goods in the thirteenth century, and a little more than a penny a mile from the fourteenth century till the rise in prices in the fifteenth century. Even wine, a most perishable and cumbersome article, was carried at no more than about twopence a mile per ton weight in 1264 and 1298, and a penny a mile in 1406. The average cost of cart hire in the fifteenth century was 1*s.* 3½*d.* a day. Water-carriage, it is to be noted, was extraordinarily cheap—about one-sixth of the cost of land-carriage. A ship with its complement of sailors, chartered to carry munitions from Bristol to Carnarvon Castle, was hired in 1297 at less than 2*s.* a day. Corn could be carried on the Thames, from Henley to London, at between two and three pence a quarter. Valuable articles and money were carried at an extra rate for insurance. Inns were numerous, though the traveller, as still in the East, was expected to supply his own provisions, fuel, and bedding.

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XI

LEARNING AND EDUCATION

1. Anglo-Saxon and Norman Periods.

With the Conversion of England begin the records of English learning and of English education. It does not enter into our province to deal directly with the history of literature; but even an outline of the growth of learning and education cannot be written without reference to its familiar story. As in all departments of English history, so here, the first dividing line is produced by the twofold nature of the conversion to Christianity. The Culdee preachers, who taught the new faith in the north, brought with them an inefficient organization, both ecclesiastical and educational; but, for that very reason, they did not employ the Latin of the Church to destroy at once the literary form of the vernacular tongue and the spirit of poetry which had produced the Germanic sagas. With the new teaching there came, rather, a new inspiration; and hence there have descended to us the heathen song of Beowulf, softened here and there, as we possess it, by later Christian influence; the deeply pious poems associated with the name of Cædmon, and the riddles of the wandering Cynewulf. It was otherwise in the South of England, where the Roman Church established its organization and its ritual. Under the influence of St. Augustine, there was more of actual teaching, and the instruction of youth was more systematically undertaken as the monastic system took deeper root on English soil. The result was that no English literature arose in the South of England, as in the Northumbrian kingdom.

The two influences met in the person of the Venerable Bede. Born in Northumbria, just after the Roman victory at the Synod

of Whitby, and educated in the Benedictine monastery of Jarrow, he represents the conflict of the two opposing systems. It is significant of the result of that conflict that the works of Bede, which have come down to us, are written in Latin, and that we can just catch the echo of those snatches of English song for which St. Cuthbert watched so eagerly while his master lay dying. Not till the last traces of Northumbrian literature were disappearing did there arise a southern king to whom it was given to encourage and almost to create a school of English prose. Not the least of Alfred's services to England was the effort he made to promote learning and education. Latin and English alike were taught in English schools, and Alfred was able to rely upon the co-operation of the clergy in advancing his great projects for the education of his people. If modern criticism has rendered untenable the old faith in King Alfred as the founder of the University of Oxford, the legend itself may well stand for the fact that to Alfred is due the re-awakening of intellectual life in the beginning of the ninth century. Alfred's successor as the patron of learning and education was the great Dunstan, the 'dear father Dunstan,' to whom, as Mr. Green has pointed out, the Canterbury schoolboys used to pray for protection.

Anglo-Saxon education was almost entirely dependent on the Church, and the earliest English school, the existence of which is known to us, was founded under the influence of St. Augustine at Canterbury. There were famous schools in such great ecclesiastical towns as Glastonbury and Abingdon, Winchester, Worcester, and York—the last mentioned rendered illustrious by its association with Alcuin. English prose, from the ninth to the eleventh century, proves the study of the vernacular; but the chief subjects were those of the medieval *trivium*—grammar (i. e. the Latin classics), rhetoric, and logic. Of the *quadrivium*, which, including arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, completed the list of the 'seven liberal arts,' only a portion was taught. Arithmetic was necessary for the computation of the Calendar, and music for the services of the Church. The great aim of education was a knowledge of grammar as a preparation for philosophy. Greek was introduced by

Archbishop Theodore, and it had, for a short time, a vogue in England. Bede, writing of an exceptional state of things, tells us that, in his days, there were men 'as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own,' while the records of Anglo-Saxon medicine indicate an acquaintance with Greek ideas.

A number of theological, philosophical, and scientific treatises remain to us to testify to learning in England before the Norman Conquest. Bede himself was learned not only in history and in theology, but also in the science of the age. His *De Temporum Ratione* attempted a scientific account of the Calendar, and his *De Natura Rerum*, translated into Anglo-Saxon in the tenth century, made an attempt to describe the constitution of the universe. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Ælfric, who is known best by his homilies, wrote upon astronomy. Other remains of Anglo-Saxon science have been collected in the volumes in the Rolls Series, entitled *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, edited by Mr. Cockayne. In philosophy, no original treatise was produced; King Alfred translated the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, but not till the coming of the Normans did any notable philosopher write on English soil, although the Anglo-Saxon race contributed to European thought so great a name as that of Alcuin. In theology, Anglo-Saxon literature is more abundant. In addition to ecclesiastical history we have collections of sermons in the *Blickling Homilies* (ed. R. Morris, E. E. Text Soc.), the *Sermones Catholici* or *Homilies* of Ælfric (ed. Thorpe), and the homilies of Wulfstan, Bishop of York. A description of these writings will be found in M. Jusserand's *Literary History of the English People*, pp. 88–90. But Anglo-Saxon writers reached their highest achievement in history. The Ecclesiastical History of Bede, the seven texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the various poems and legends of the saints, represent a collection of historical material such as no other nation has produced. There were hardly any students of Roman law, and no great jurists, before the Norman Conquest. Anglo-Saxon dooms and custumals are comparatively numerous, but they were never made part of a great legal system.

Of the methods of Anglo-Saxon education we know but little. A school-book has come down to us in the *Colloquium*, one of the MSS. of which Mr. Cockayne has printed in the preface to the first volume of his *Saxon Leechdoms*. It was an exercise in translation from Latin into English, and certain glosses give evidence that Greek words were taught, if no attempt was made to give instruction in the language. Bede tells us that, before the foundation of nunneries in England, the daughters of English parents were sent to be educated in the monasteries of the Franks or Gauls. From the time of Alfred onwards there must have been a considerable number of grammar schools, connected with churches, cathedrals, and religious houses.

The immediate result of the Norman Conquest was to connect with England two great names in the history of European thought—Lanfranc, whose controversy with Berengar of Tours was one of the earliest results of the religious movement of the eleventh century, and St. Anselm, whose *Cur Deus Homo* has associated with the See of Canterbury one of the greatest of theological classics. With the literary products of Anglo-Norman writers we are not here concerned. It is more important, for our purpose, that the Norman Conquest brought England into closer contact with continental thought and into more direct touch with continental life. The reign of Edward the Confessor had helped to familiarize Englishmen with Norman ideas, and the Conquest brought about the introduction of many of these. The Renaissance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries produced a new interest in law and in philosophy. Thus we find English law systematized under Henry II, and stated by Glanvill, the first great English legist. We find also an increase of interest in classical literature; Anglo-Saxon text-books had been concerned with medicine and practical science; in the twelfth century the boys were occupied with Priscian and Donatus, the Aristotelian logic known chiefly through the Latin rendering of Boethius, along with the writings of Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville. Through the great classical acquirements of John of Salisbury, England may claim some share in the brilliant, if brief, classical

renaissance of the twelfth century, and her part in the development of scholastic theology is exemplified by the work of Robert Pullen, who began to study in the schools of Oxford about 1133, and who subsequently taught at Paris, and was known as one of the greatest scholars of his day. His *Sententiarum theologicarum Libri VIII* was a well-known text-book till the appearance of the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard.

2. Origins of Medieval Schools and Universities.

The mention of the schools of Oxford brings us to perhaps the central question connected with the history of learning in England—the origin of the oldest English University. Until recently, the general belief has been that the schools of Oxford arose in connexion with one of the great religious houses—Oseney or St. Frideswide's. Mr. Maxwell Lyte and Mr. Rashdall have pointed out the improbability of the origin of independent schools from a monastic or capitular body, and that, in point of fact, the schools of Oxford did not grow up around St. Frideswide's or Oseney, but around the parish church of St. Mary. Mr. Rashdall has suggested a theory of their origin which may be taken as the most probable explanation which has yet appeared. He tells us that, where a University originated spontaneously, it was usually in connexion with a cathedral or collegiate church, and that Oxford possessed neither; and he proceeds to adduce some other considerations which render it likely that the University originated in one of the migrations which are frequent in early academic history. Mr. Rashdall points out that there are only three allusions to the existence of schools at Oxford before the year 1167: a certain Theobaldus Stampensis, who had been a 'Doctor at Caen,' taught at Oxford before 1117, and had under him 'sixty or a hundred clerks, more or less'; Robert Pullen, already mentioned; and, perhaps, the Lombard jurist Vacarius. About the year 1167 we find more evidence for schools at Oxford, and Mr. Rashdall's theory is based on the coincidence in time between 'the sudden rise of Oxford into a *Studium Generale*' about 1167, and the issue of an

ordinance by Henry II (then engaged in his quarrel with Becket), ordering all clerks possessing revenues in England and resident in France, where Philip II was aiding Becket, to return home within three months 'as they loved their revenues.' A very large proportion of clerks holding English benefices and residing in France must have consisted of students at the University of Paris. It is certain that many English scholars were forced to leave Paris in accordance with this ordinance. It is also certain that it was a usual practice in such cases to migrate and found another *Studium Generale.*

The commercial and strategic importance of Oxford, situated between Wessex and Mercia, and close to the Thames, rendered it easy of access for a large concourse of English students. A migration from Paris to Oxford is thus most probable, and the positive evidence consists in the fact that, 'not merely in their number, but in their character, the allusions to Oxford schools after 1167 differ from the earlier notices.' One master, even if he enjoys a following of 'sixty or a hundred scholars, more or less,' does not make a *Studium Generale.* After 1167, the notices are precisely of the kind which do point to the existence of a *Studium Generale* in the looser and earlier sense of the word, i. e. to the existence of schools in more than one Faculty, taught by many masters, attended by a numerous body of scholars, and by scholars from distant regions. Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Oxford in 1184 or 1185, speaks of 'all the Doctors of the different Faculties' at Oxford, 'where the clergy in England chiefly flourished and excelled in clerkship.' A further piece of evidence is the document reproduced on Plate LXVIII, 1. It is a transfer of land in Catte Street, near St. Mary's Church, earlier in date than 1190, and 'among the parties or witnesses appear the names of one bookbinder, three illuminators, one writer, and two parchmenters'—an indication of the academic importance of the city. It may fairly be said that this theory offers the most adequate explanation of the whole circumstances.

The University of Cambridge, in like manner, originated through a migration from Oxford. In 1209, an Oxford townswoman was killed by a clerk; whether accidentally or not, we

do not know. King John, who was under sentence of excommunication, and so had no desire to protect the clergy, allowed the people of Oxford to have their revenge by putting two or three scholars to death. Their fellow students became alarmed, and began to migrate, some to Paris, some to Reading, and some to Cambridge. There is no evidence that Cambridge had acquired any special pre-eminence as an educational centre before the beginning of the thirteenth century. No doubt it possessed one of the grammar schools which, by this time, were to be found in most English towns. The rise of Cambridge received a check from a return of scholars to Oxford in 1214, on John's reconciliation with the Church, but it had, some fifteen years later, an accession of strength from the dispersion of the scholars of Paris.

The distinguishing mark of the English Universities to-day is the collegiate system. Yet Paris, not Oxford, was the original home of the college as an academic institution. Colleges arose from a combination of two circumstances—the existence of benevolent persons who wished to support poor students, and the custom of undergraduates living together under the lax rule of a head elected by themselves (latterly, but at first not necessarily, a Master of Arts). The provision of a hostel for the accommodation of students led to the enforcement of regulations for the conduct of its inmates. The beginnings of the college system in England belong to the thirteenth century. The thirteenth-century students congregated in self-governed Halls; these came into contact with the Chancellor of the University through giving him security for rent, and from this simple fact there developed the minute control subsequently exercised by the University. In the middle of the thirteenth century a Hall, known as Great University Hall, was endowed in accordance with a bequest of William of Durham, and this Hall became, about 1280, University College.

But between the first establishment of the Hall and the publication of the first code of statutes for University College two important events had occurred. Between 1261 and 1266 Sir John de Balliol, father of the notorious John Balliol, did penance for an outrage upon the churches of Tynemouth and Durham by

providing for the maintenance of some poor scholars at Oxford. There thus arose in Oxford the College subsequently developed by Devorguilla de Balliol, widow of the founder. The other event to which we referred was the foundation, in 1263–4, of Merton College. Its statutes were drawn up in 1264, and Walter de Merton was the first founder to provide suitable buildings and to make use of a magnificent church for his corporation. The quadrangle shape, now inseparably associated with a college, probably originated in the accidental circumstances which led to the formation of the Mob Quadrangle at Merton [Pl. LXVI, 1].

The movement for the endowment of colleges spread from Oxford to Cambridge, where Peterhouse arose about 1284. In Oxford and Cambridge alike, the rise of secular colleges was accompanied by the growth of monastic colleges, made for and by the Regulars of particular Orders. The Mendicants had, in both Universities, set the example of organized halls for their members. In 1289 Gloucester Hall or College (now represented by Worcester College) and Durham College (on the site of the modern Trinity) were founded at Oxford for the Benedictines. The fourteenth century witnessed important additions to the number of colleges in both Universities. At Cambridge, Clare was founded in 1326, Pembroke in 1347, Gonville in 1348, Trinity Hall in 1350, and in 1352 Corpus Christi, where for the first time the design of a quadrangle was consciously adopted. At Oxford, Exeter dates from the year 1314, Oriel from 1326, Queen's from 1340, and in 1379 William of Wykeham founded his College of St. Mary of Winchester in Oxford, which soon became known as New College, in contradistinction to Merton, which had hitherto been pre-eminently *the* College.

The foundation of New College calls for some remark, because it may be taken as indicating the perfectly developed form of a collegiate foundation, and because its association with the sister college at Winchester requires some statement regarding the history of English schools from the Norman Conquest. In the course of the twelfth century the number of grammar schools was largely increased. Mr. A. F. Leach, in his *History of Winchester College*, quotes evidence for the re-foundation of

1. MOB QUADRANGLE, MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

2. CHAMBER COURT, WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

the school of York in 1075 and its endowment in 1181. 'Warwick School,' he says, 'is mentioned in a deed of 1123. . . . Bedford School is on record as existing . . . before 1120. . . . In London there were three grammar schools in 1137.' The twelfth-century revival of learning gave a great impetus to the foundation of schools, and many arose in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, sometimes in dependence upon cathedrals and collegiate churches, and sometimes in connexion with hospitals, gilds and chantries, while some came to exist without any such support. The place of monasteries in education seems to have been very greatly exaggerated. It is doubtful, says Mr. Leach, 'whether the monks ever affected even to keep a grammar school for any but their own novices, among whom outsiders were not admitted,' and the contribution of monks to general education may be said to be confined to the early days of Christianity in England.

But, in spite of the increasing number of schools, there was a very considerable danger to the medieval Universities in the crowd of insufficiently educated youths who proceeded to the study of philosophy. When William of Wykeham founded a new college at Oxford, he determined to secure that his foundation should escape this danger, and, for this purpose, he conjoined with it the school of the College of St. Mary Winton near Winchester. There had long been in existence a high school or public grammar school at Winchester, but Wykeham did not employ it as the basis of his new foundation. He has frequently been credited with originating the public school system; but it cannot be argued that he was the first to endow a grammar school. His work at Winchester is, in fact, precisely analogous to his work at Oxford: he did not invent the collegiate system, but he built a college on a grander scale than any of his predecessors, and in so complete a fashion that it became the model for almost all subsequent founders; and, in like manner, at Winchester, he embodied the already existing idea of a public grammar school on a scale which made his work the type of what came to be the English public school. On October 20, 1382, he executed a deed of foundation for Winchester College, and on March 28, 1394, his society took possession of their magnificent

home [Pl. LXVI, 2]. It was, in spite of its association with New College, an independent corporation, the earliest corporation of 'warden and scholars,' except the colleges in the Universities. It was pre-eminently a school, and not (like the schools which had grown up in dependence upon cathedrals or chantries) an institution existing as a kind of parasite, preying upon a foundation made for another purpose.

Wykeham's great aim seems to have been to meet the new influences of the Lollard movement by enlisting learned men on the side of the Church. He founded Winchester because he knew that 'students, . . . through default of good and sufficient teaching in Latin, are deficient in grammar, and so fall into errors' in studying philosophy, and, accordingly, he limited the membership of New College to boys educated at Winchester. From Winchester they were to go to the sister college to study arts or philosophy, and, subsequently, theology, or canon or civil law. In New College they found, not a mere convenient dwelling-place, but a great ecclesiastical house, equipped to meet all the wants of its inmates. It was not, in any sense, a monastic foundation; any of Wykeham's scholars who entered a religious Order lost his position, for Wykeham was chiefly interested in the secular clergy. Its statutes exhibit a great development of the theory of college discipline which, in other foundations during the next two centuries, reduced the undergraduate to the level of a schoolboy, and made the birch no longer the symbol of the mere teacher of grammar. Wykeham, too, was the first to insist upon teaching within the college, which thus became the means of intellectual as well as of moral education, and, by forbidding any of his scholars to obtain from the University a 'grace' for their degree, he attempted to secure their fulfilment of all proper obligations.

His great collegiate building, with its chapel, its cloisters, and its garden, its separate establishment for the Warden, and its elaborate statutes, owed much to earlier foundations, and, more especially, to Merton, which it now superseded as the direct model for future colleges. The founder of Lincoln, the next Oxford college in point of date (1427), died without completing its foundation; but the buildings bear a distinct resemblance, in

arrangement, to those of New College. All Souls (1437) and Magdalen (1458) were founded by men who had been members of one or other of the St. Mary Winton Colleges, and they represent variations on Wykeham's plan. In 1441 a still more close imitation was devised by King Henry VI in the foundation of his two colleges—the King's College of St. Nicholas and Our Lady at Cambridge, and, in 1442, of the College of St. Mary at Eton. The foundations at Cambridge of Queens' College (1448), St. Catharine's (1475), and Jesus (1497) complete the list of purely medieval colleges. Before dealing with the effect of the Renaissance and the Reformation upon schools and universities, it is necessary to deal briefly with the subjects of medieval studies.

3. Curricula in Medieval Schools and Universities.

Of the teaching in medieval schools we know very little indeed. A distinction must be drawn between the mere Song Schools, which taught just sufficient Latin to enable boys to take part in the services of the Church, and the grammar schools, where a knowledge of the elements of Latin was assumed, and where preparation was given for the study of dialectic. The text-books in grammar were Donatus and Alexander de Villa Dei; the Latin poets (especially Vergil) were read, and there were 'Disputations' in grammar, similar to the philosophical disputations of the Universities. A knowledge of grammar was, of course, assumed in the Universities, where Latin was the language alike of lectures and of conversation, and where the only instruction in grammar was an analysis of the system of popular grammarians, based on the section *De barbarismo* in the *Ars Grammatica* of Aelius Donatus, a fourth-century grammarian, whose work became universally used throughout Europe. The Universities themselves were schools of philosophy, mental and physical. The attention of students in Arts was chiefly directed to the logic of Aristotle, and to his metaphysics, physics, and ethics. Up to the eleventh century Aristotle was known only through the translations into Latin of the sections of his *Organon*, entitled *De Interpretatione* and *Categoriae*, and through the logical works of the philosopher

Boethius. The range of medieval studies was greatly enlarged by the introduction of Aristotle from Arabian sources in the twelfth century, and the recovery of a complete text of the *Organon* in the thirteenth century. The interest of medieval thought was largely connected with the controversy about the nature of general names, or Universals. The questions, *What do we mean by a general name? Does it correspond to anything really existing?* lay at the centre of philosophical thought. There grew up two rival schools. The Realists held that the unity, which a Universal or general name implies among the individuals included in its scope, exists in fact as well as in thought; that a Universal is a substance having a real existence, independently of human thought. Their opponents, the Nominalists, believed that a Universal is only a name, and that the unity which it gives to all the individuals to whom it is applied exists only in the name. A full account of this great controversy will be found in any history of philosophy, and round one aspect or another of this question centred the main efforts of medieval teachers of philosophy.

Most of the text-books used in medieval times are still extant. In the end of the fourteenth century the University curriculum implied, in addition to the *Organon* of Aristotle and the writings of Boethius, a knowledge of such books as Porphyry's *Isagoge* or Introduction to Aristotle; the criticism of Aristotle's *Categories* by Gilbert of Poitiers (de la Porrée), known as the *Sex Principia*; the *Summulae Logicales*, a semi-grammatical, semi-logical treatise by Petrus Hispanus (afterwards Pope John XXI), and the commentaries on Scripture of Nicolaus de Lyra. Other branches of knowledge were represented by the *Tractatus de Sphaera*, an astronomical work by a thirteenth-century Scotsman, John Holywood (Joannes de Sacro Bosco), and by the *Computus* for determining the date of Easter. The method of teaching included the dictation of lectures, and the system of disputations, in accordance with which theses were selected to be attacked and defended (impugned and propugned) by different students as an exercise in dialectic. The main point is the supremacy of Aristotle as interpreted by the Schoolmen. *Absurdum est dicere Aristotelem errasse.* The works of Aristotle, as currently under-

stood, served as a final authority on all questions, even in natural science. Greek was almost unknown, and the slight humanistic movement of the end of the twelfth century had been entirely crushed by the weight of scholastic philosophy.

The numbers of students in attendance at the medieval Universities cannot easily be estimated. The statements with regard to Oxford vary from 60,000 to 1,500. On a survey of the evidence, Mr. Rashdall concludes that, at Oxford, 'the numbers could at no time have exceeded 3,000, and were probably always much below it'; and the same may be said of Cambridge, where the numbers were still lower. No University, except Paris and Bologna, contained, at any time, more than 5,000 students.

Among Englishmen who, in the time of which we have been treating, became notable in the history of European learning, should be reckoned, in the twelfth century, John of Salisbury, the philosopher and historian, who helped in the recovery of the lost books of the *Organon*; Robert Pullen, whose *Sentences* we have already mentioned; the Latin versifier, Walter Map; and the historian Giraldus Cambrensis. In the following century we have the accomplished Robert Grosseteste; Alexander of Hales, the early Realist; Roger Bacon, the daring and original speculator; and to these succeeded Duns Scotus, the founder of the later Realism, and William of Ockham, the founder of the later Nominalism. The end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century witnessed the 'Oxford movement' connected with the name of John Wycliffe, himself an Oxford man, as were also most of his preachers. But the accession of the House of Lancaster put an end to the importance of Lollardry, and the fifteenth century is notable for the 'Early Renaissance' which the late Bishop Creighton described in the Rede Lecture for 1895. The Maecenas of the age was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, with whose name we shall again meet in connexion with the Bodleian Library. Soon Aeneas Sylvius was able to write to an English scholar congratulating him that 'Latin style had penetrated into Britain.' The successor of Gloucester in this respect was John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who bought books in Florence, and himself wrote Latin.

4. The Renaissance and the Reformation.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Renaissance was itself in full force, and the new learning soon found a place in the English Universities. The main feature of this late fifteenth-century movement was the revival of the study of Greek and Roman literature. The introduction of Greek into Oxford is traditionally attributed to Cornelio Vitello, who was made, about 1470, a Praelector in New College. To the same College belonged also William Grocyn, the most distinguished of Oxford humanists, the catalogue of whose remarkable library we still possess. Other famous names connected with Oxford learning of this period are Thomas Linacre, and his more famous pupil, Thomas More, John Colet, and Desiderius Erasmus, whose great reputation shed fresh lustre over Oxford and Cambridge alike.

The revival of Humanism found further result in the foundation of colleges in both Universities. The first sixteenth-century college at Oxford is Brasenose (1509), a new foundation based upon the much older King's Hall. It followed closely the models of Merton and New College, and its statutes represent an advance in strictness of discipline. The new movement was more directly responsible for the foundation of Corpus Christi College in 1516 by Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester. The statutes of Corpus contain a provision for a Corpus Reader in Greek, who was to lecture to the whole University on Aristophanes, Theocritus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, or some similar author, along with Greek grammar and rhetoric. In like manner a Latin reader was appointed to lecture on Roman literature. The lists of Latin and Greek authors quoted in the statutes form a striking contrast to the medieval curriculum of the older colleges, and are evidence of Foxe's desire to unite the new interests with the faith of the Church. At Cambridge, Christ's College (1505), which included the older God's House (dating from 1441–2), owed its origin at once to the piety of the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII, and to the new learning, under the influence of Bishop Fisher. If his conservatism prevented either it or the subsequent foundation of St. John's College

(1511), which was also initiated by the Lady Margaret, from representing quite so complete an acceptance of the new state of affairs as had been shown in the statutes of Bishop Foxe, both differ much from the older medieval colleges, and are unquestionably products of the Renaissance.

The last distinctively Renaissance College, founded by Wolsey in 1524, as 'Cardinal College,' became, under the name of Christ Church, the first Reformation College in Oxford. Wolsey had been educated at Magdalen while Oxford could claim Grocyn and More and Colet and Erasmus among its residents, and when he began the suppression of the smaller monasteries he seized the monastery of St. Frideswide's to form his new Cardinal College. It was incomplete at the time of his fall in 1529, and though Henry VIII gave it a charter, in his own name, in 1532, he afterwards suppressed it, and the actual foundation of Christ Church dates from 1546, when Henry removed to Oxford the new episcopal see, created at Oseney in 1542. The conjunction of an ecclesiastical and cathedral foundation with an academic institution is unique in history. To the religious changes introduced by Henry VIII Cambridge owes the largest of English colleges—'Trinity College within the town and University of Cambridge, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation,' which arose on the ruins of the Franciscan buildings in 1546. Slightly older than Trinity is Magdalene College, in Cambridge, the foundation of which had been attempted about 1519, but which actually dates from 1542, and, like Christ Church, possessed a charter from a king who was Supreme Head of the Church of England. Magdalene shares some of the peculiar interest attaching to two Oxford colleges—Trinity and St. John's. The statutes of Magdalene were not completed till 1554, and, when they were sanctioned, the sovereign of England was no longer Supreme Head of the Church. At Oxford, Trinity (1554) and St. John Baptist (1555) belong to the same period of reaction, with which the founders of both seem to have sympathized. Under Queen Elizabeth originated the distinctively Protestant foundations of Jesus College, Oxford (1571), and Emmanuel (1584) and Sidney Sussex (1595) in Cambridge. With the sixteenth century the age of college-founding came to an end, and only four colleges

arose between 1600 and quite recent times—Wadham (1612), Pembroke (1624), and Worcester (1714) at Oxford, and Downing (1800) at Cambridge.

The new learning, thus followed by an outburst of ecclesiastical and theological controversy, completely altered, in the course of the sixteenth century, the curriculum of a University education. We have seen that, at the beginning of it, Humanism had found a place in the statutes of Corpus Christi at Oxford, and Christ's and St. John's at Cambridge. As the century advanced, there was added to the new love of literature a contempt for the ancient philosophical studies. At one time it appeared as if this contempt were to involve the Universities in the destruction of the monasteries, and an Act was introduced into Parliament for the dissolution of the colleges. But wiser counsels prevailed, and Thomas Cromwell was satisfied with sending commissioners in 1535 to remodel academic institutions and to expel the scholastic philosophy. There came a day when the leaves of Duns Scotus—the 'dunce' of Cromwell's commissioners—were thrown to the winds in the great quadrangle of New College, and, as they were blown here and there, impressed strongly on the mind of at least one on-looker the mutability of things human. Aristotle was not totally neglected, but the medieval commentators were disregarded. Plato found for the first time a worthy place in the minds of Englishmen, and the classical historians were read as well as the classical poets. The new religious influences found an outcome in the professorships of Divinity, and Hebrew began to be studied. Physics and mathematics, released from bondage to Aristotle, attracted eager students who prepared the way for the great advance of the next century. The statutes of Pembroke College, Oxford, which, though dating from 1624, represent fairly enough the conditions at the end of Elizabeth's reign, provide for a catechetical lecture in religious knowledge, and lectures in Natural Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, and Greek, with Disputations in Theology and Philosophy. The older terminology is thus maintained to a considerable extent, but the facts had altered, and the medieval student would have found it difficult to recognize the 'Natural Philosophy' or the 'Mathematics' of 1600.

Renaissance and Reformation could not fail to modify the condition of English schools as well as of the Universities. The new learning did not produce many important foundations, although Colet's connexion with St. Paul's and Wolsey's with Ipswich are important exceptions. Colet attempted a compromise between the old and the new, and prescribed St. Jerome and St. Augustine as classical text-books, while Wolsey's scholars were to read Vergil and Horace and Ovid. A greater numerical change was brought about by the Reformation. In some cases the change was for the better. Henry VIII maintained and improved the cathedral schools, and in erecting new cathedral and collegiate churches he made special provision for education. But hospitals were included under the Act for the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and the hospital schools fell with the hospitals. The Chantries Acts of Henry VIII and Edward VI were also in their results adverse to educational progress. The reputation of Edward VI as the founder of grammar schools has not survived recent historical criticism. Mr. Leach has shown that 'close on 200 grammar schools (and the schools of Winchester and Eton are included in the term grammar schools) existed in England before the reign of Edward VI, which were, for the most part, abolished or crippled under him.' The number 200 represents our definite knowledge; there must have been many others of which all traces have vanished. It is true that, from the Reformation onwards, the number and the importance of independent schools distinctly increased. Westminster owes its greatness to the Reformation; Shrewsbury takes its date from the reign of Edward VI, and the number of grammar schools which bear his name or are otherwise associated with him will suffice to indicate the importance of this development. Under Elizabeth the endowment of schools became a more generally recognized method of pious benefaction, and to John Lyon and Lawrence Sheriff Harrow and Rugby owe, respectively, their existence.

For whom were such endowed schools intended? Certain phrases in early statutes have led to considerable misapprehension in this connexion. Mr. Leach has pointed out how the

expression *pauperes et indigentes*, as applied to Wykeham's schoolboys at Winchester, was necessitated by the legatine constitution forbidding the appropriation of churches except for the good of the poor. In order to carry out his schemes for the endowment of Winchester, it was necessary for the founder to speak of his scholars as *pauperes*: but, in point of fact, they might possess what was, in those days, the considerable income of five marks annually. Similarly, there can be little doubt that, at its foundation, Eton was not intended for others than the conventionally 'poor' students, and there is a clause in the original statutes forbidding the reception of the sons of villeins into college. The free grammar schools of the towns, in like manner, were intended for the free tuition of some or all of the boys of the neighbourhood, i. e. largely for the class which now uses them, and not for *pauperes et indigentes* in the modern sense. The obvious meaning of the word 'free' is the correct one, and the ingenious explanations that have been derived for it may be safely disregarded. Alike in regard to Winchester, Eton, and Rugby, and with respect to humbler foundations, there is much exaggeration in the statement, sometimes made, that they are really 'charity hospitals,' whose revenues have been misapplied for the advantage of higher classes than those whom they were originally intended to benefit. Christ's Hospital is the most important instance of a foundation for the poor in the modern sense of the word.

In conclusion, something must be said with regard to the educational theories of the sixteenth century, as compared with those of medieval days. The *plagosus Orbilius* was certainly not less in evidence at the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth than in the days when the scholars of Canterbury cried for protection to sweet father Dunstan, although in the interval Sir Thomas Elyot and Roger Ascham had attempted to convince Englishmen that learning might be instilled otherwise than by means of the rod. The method of teaching was thoroughly mechanical: Elyot's remarks in *The Governour* on the wisdom of adapting instruction to particular cases, and his desire to substitute love of literature for slavish adherence to grammatical niceties, go to show the condition of

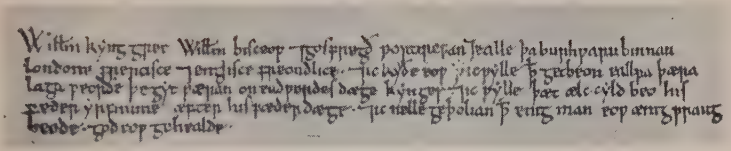
education in which such suggestions were novelties. *The Governour* was published in 1531, but when Ascham wrote his *Scholemaster* in 1570 he had to plead for precisely the same views, and with just the same result. His method of teaching Latin grammar has frequently been stated. It was based on translation, and it attempted to make use of the bond of association of ideas, thus saving the childish mind from the effort of mastering a long series of disconnected facts. He argued that the learner might begin with a piece of Latin prose, for example, a letter of Cicero. After its general meaning was explained, it should be translated, word by word, with all due attention to the attainment of the proper equivalent. It was then to be translated into proper English, and, after an interval, re-translated into Latin, and the new version compared with the original. Ascham's method did not appeal to sixteenth-century schoolmasters, who preferred the retention of the medieval plan of forcing upon the minds of their pupils long lists of grammatical intricacies, and the reform of educational method was reserved for a later day.

5. Handwriting.

The earliest specimens of handwriting within these islands are connected with Ireland, the conversion and civilization of which, in the middle of the fifth century, afforded the first opportunity for the development of a national hand. Irish writing was ultimately derived from a modification of what is known as the Roman *uncial* hand. Roman uncial letters were themselves a modification of the older square letters used for inscriptions. Sir E. M. Thompson defines uncial as essentially a round hand, and explains its adoption by the fact that it is 'more simple, when writing letters with the reed or pen on a material more or less soft, to avoid right angles by the use of curves.' Uncial letters were written separately and were not connected, and they must be distinguished from the cursive letters, which were written hastily and joined so as to form distinct words. In course of time uncial became corrupted by the partial introduction of cursive letters, and

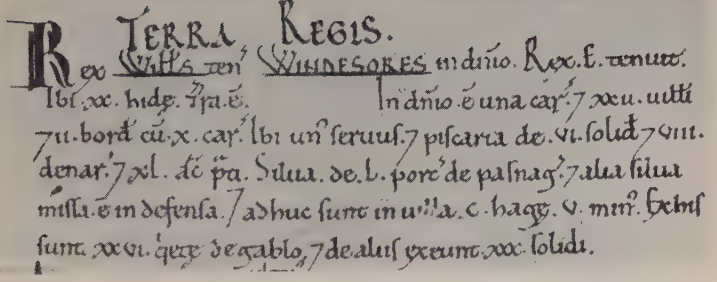
from one of these corrupted or modified forms, known as Roman half-uncial, was derived the Irish hand. It was affected by South Gaulish influence, arising, according to tradition, from St. Patrick's having been consecrated in South Gaul. It was a rounded hand in its earliest form, and a very beautiful example of it survives in the *Book of Kells* (Nat. MSS. Irel. i. vii–xvii). It was soon superseded by a pointed hand which became the cursive of Ireland, and which is directly descended from the rounded hand, and is not to be connected with Roman cursive. The date of the *Book of Kells* is uncertain; but it is probable that the change from rounded to pointed took place in the seventh century, and it was certainly complete by the first half of the ninth century, to which belongs the *Book of Armagh* (Nat. MSS. Irel. i. Plates xxv–xxix). This national Irish hand was not displaced by the English conquest in the twelfth century, and it remained in use up to the fifteenth century, becoming gradually more angular in character. But the change was so slow that the settlement of the date of an Irish MS. is a matter of considerable difficulty. Irish art produced most beautiful illuminations, marked by wonderful symmetry and regularity of pattern, but failing in any attempt to produce life, even still life.

As the Synod of Whitby in 664 settled whether the religion of England was to be Irish or Roman, so also it marks an era in the history of English handwriting. The two rival religious movements had introduced into England two rival types of handwriting. The monks of St. Augustine had brought with them the Roman hand which may yet be seen in the Canterbury Psalter in the Cottonian Library, while the Northern missionaries had popularized the Irish style. The decision which succeeded in bringing England into full communion with the see of Rome failed, however, to affect the question of writing, and the Hiberno-Saxon hand, with its Irish peculiarities, and sometimes indistinguishable from the native Irish hand, became the national English handwriting. We find in England both a light rounded hand, and, by the middle of the eighth century, the pointed style. The ninth and tenth centuries witnessed the decay of the national English



I. CHARTER OF WILLIAM I TO LONDON.

(*Nat. MSS. Eng. No. 1*)



2. SPECIMEN OF DOMESDAY BOOK.

(*Nat. MSS. Eng. I. 3.*)

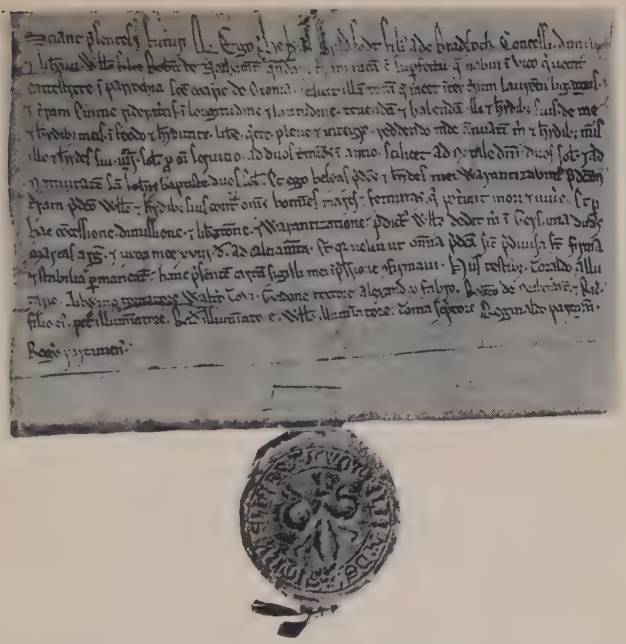
hand, mainly owing to the Danish invasions and the destruction of monasteries thereby occasioned. It also became affected by foreign influences, until finally the Norman Conquest completed the work, and the close of the eleventh century saw the extinction of the English national hand [Pl. LXVII, 1], and the triumph of continental handwriting.

The new hand, however, was not without signs of English influences. In the course of the eighth century the handwriting of continental Europe had been much modified by tendencies towards nationality. The Merovingian hand, the Lombardic, and the Visigothic in France, Italy and Spain respectively, had each developed local characteristics which rendered the task of reading very difficult. So great was the inconvenience, that Charles the Great, who finds so large a place in the history of civilization, determined to force upon the scribes a uniform handwriting. The task of selecting and arranging this universal style he entrusted to Alcuin, who had learned to write while Northumbrian literature was still great, and who had carried with him his Irish training to the school of Tours, where he settled in 796 at the request of the Emperor. The result of his labour was the Carolingian *minuscule* which became the normal continental hand. It was based on the Roman half-uncial, and was remarkable for avoiding the eccentricities which had been altering the Roman half-uncial in France, in Italy, and in Spain. The traces of Hiberno-Saxon influence are very slight indeed: but the decorations are mainly Irish, and it has been suggested that the flat top of the Tours letter 'a' (ꝑ) is indicative of Alcuin's Irish training. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Carolingian minuscule was universal throughout Europe, except in England and in Germany, the handwriting of which latter country was always more clumsy and awkward than that of the rest of Europe.

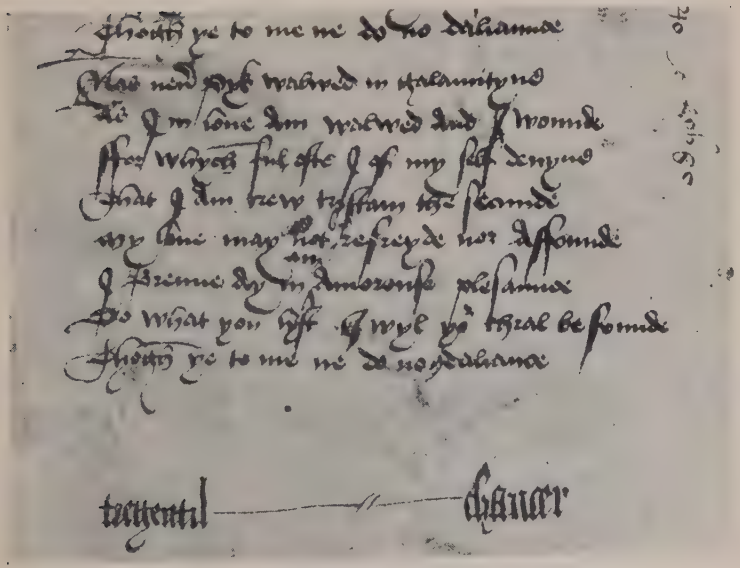
When the Norman Conquest introduced the Carolingian minuscule into England, that form of writing was at its best, and it had not yet been corrupted by local and national modifications. The illustration from Domesday Book [Pl. LXVII, 2] shows the Carolingian minuscule at the end of the eleventh century. During the twelfth century it became what Mr. Madan

has described as 'the finest writing ever known—a large, free and flowing form of the minuscule of Tours.' The clumsy shape and the unsymmetrical roughness of outline gave place to a large clear hand, every stroke of which was regular and methodical, and which was entirely free from archaism or eccentricity of any kind. But, even in the twelfth century, there were indications of the coming changes, for we can trace the first signs of the growth of a court or law hand, which was to oust the Carolingian minuscule from legal documents. The illustration from the Archives of the University of Oxford, containing a grant of land in Catte Street (*c.* 1180, cf. p. 308), is an example of court or lawyer's hand, as distinguished from book hand, at the end of the twelfth century [Pl. LXVIII, 1]. The high letters go far beyond the line, and there is a marked curvature of stems below it. Not only are the high letters produced above and below, but they are curved and otherwise exaggerated.

The development of this court hand was not the only change reserved for the thirteenth century. The influence of the revolution in handwriting brought about by Charles the Great extends no farther than the twelfth century. In the course of the thirteenth century, national hands began again to develop themselves, and the book hand in English underwent a change to a Gothic model, angular in character, the difference between which and the Carolingian minuscule has been compared to that which distinguishes a fount of German from a fount of Roman type to-day. This process was extended in the following century. About 1275, for example, we find a single 'i' accentuated 'í' instead of being dotted ('íí' is found much earlier than 'í'); the stem of 't' rising above the line; and a lightly closed at the top. In the fourteenth century 't' is rising still further; and a becomes heavily closed at the top. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, writing becomes more and more careless; everything is contracted to the utmost possible degree, and the sole consideration is speed. No care is taken e. g. to distinguish 'n' from 'u' (both are n), or 'v' from 'b' (b). Up to the end of the thirteenth century, English book hand had not much deteriorated. A most careless style made its appearance in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century



1. ADVANCED COURT HAND, TWELFTH CENTURY.
(*Archiv. Univ. Oxon.*)



2. CHAUCER MS.
(*Bodl. MSS. Rawlinson, Poetry, 163.*)

words became cramped and letters began to lose all resemblance to their proper shape. The same tendency may be remarked in the court hand; the cleaving and curving of letters above the line was originally conducted with distinct method—the cleavage at first ending in an equal curvature on both sides, and then passing into a one-sided stroke; but they became irregular as the angularity of the handwriting progressed, and, at the end of the fifteenth century, court hand also was careless and crowded. The reproduction of Chaucer's long-lost poem, *To Rosemounde* [Pl. LXVII, 1], will serve to illustrate English book hand of the fifteenth century.

Up to the tenth century, papyrus was largely used for writing purposes, but it ceased to be used after about 935. In the course of the tenth century, paper was introduced into Spain by the Moors, but it was not made in Europe till about two centuries later—in England, not till the fifteenth century. Papyrus and paper were both substitutes for parchment, which was employed for all important purposes. The medieval pen was generally a quill; and inks of various colours and solutions of gold and silver for purposes of illumination were in ordinary use.

6. Books, Printing, and Libraries.

The limits of space forbid any reference to the controversy which has been waged over the invention of printing. It is sufficient to say that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, woodcuts were in common use and sheets were printed from these, and that, about the middle of the fifteenth century, movable type was invented, probably at Mentz. The art of printing was introduced into England about the year 1477, by William Caxton, who had learned his art at Cologne and Bruges. Between 1474 and 1477 he printed, at Bruges, the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, which has become famous as the first English printed book, and the not less famous *Game and Playe of the Chess*. In 1477, within the precincts of Westminster Abbey, Caxton printed *The Dictes of the Philosophers*, followed by the *Ordinale Sarum*, and soon by the works of Lydgate and the *Canterbury Tales*. He was not long

the only English printer, for an independent press was established at Oxford about the year 1478. The first work printed at Oxford is misdated '1468,' probably a mistake for 1478, and fifteen books are known to have been printed in Oxford by the year 1486. In 1480, London possessed a second printer in the person of John Letton, and, in the same year, a press was started at St. Albans, under the influence of Caxton. Early type was copied from the MSS. with which the printers were most familiar, Caxton employed a Gothic type, an imitation of the current Gothic hand, the modern representative of which is German type, and he also used what is known as the Burgundian type, based on the manuscript hand of English and Burgundian scribes of the fifteenth century. The Oxford press used what is called 'Bastard Italian' type, which was ultimately superseded by English black letter. Roman type, in the strict sense (i. e. an imitation of the Carolingian minuscule which the Renaissance had re-established among Italian scribes), was first used in England in 1518, by Richard Pynson. Italic type, invented by Aldus Manutius of Venice for the Aldine editions of the classics, was introduced into England in 1524 by Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde, who, five years earlier, had been the first to print Greek. A few Greek words appeared in his edition of Whitinton's *Grammatica*. The art of illustration was introduced by Caxton, but his woodcuts were extremely crude and contrast badly with the beautiful manuscript illuminations which they superseded.

Books were distinguished as folio, quarto, octavo, &c., according to the manner in which the sheets were folded. A book composed of sheets folded once was a folio (containing two leaves or four pages); if each sheet was again folded so as to contain four leaves or eight pages, it was a quarto; if again folded so as to contain eight leaves or sixteen pages, it was an octavo. Fresh foldings produced a 12mo page and a 16mo page. Originally, these names were quite independent of the size of sheet, but as a conventional size of sheet (about 12 inches high by 16 inches wide) came to be recognized, the element of size entered into the terms folio, quarto, octavo, &c.

It has been estimated that, by 1500, about four hundred books

had been printed in England. No edition of the English Bible was printed in England till 1535: Tyndale's translation (1525) had been printed on the continent. Matthew's Bible was printed in 1537, the 'Great Bible' (partially printed in Paris) in 1539; the 'Breeches' or Genevan Bible in 1560, the Bishops' Bible in 1568, and the translation known as the Authorized Version in 1611. The delay in printing the Bible was due to the rigid censorship of the Press, which was exercised by the Church. This censorship did not cease at the Reformation, after which the king appointed a licencer, whose scrutiny all printed matter had to pass. Printing became a monopoly, confined mainly to the City of London and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Libraries, of course, existed in England before the introduction of printed books. The period of Irish culture must have brought many MSS. to Ireland, some of which (e. g. the *Book of Kells*) remain to us. Monasteries in general were not collectors of literature, but the Benedictines amassed, as at Reading and Christ Church, Canterbury, large numbers of books. The first library was perhaps that at Canterbury. We know from the Reformation records that many religious houses possessed libraries, which, by the end of the Middle Ages, were recognized as necessary to a complete foundation. Similarly, colleges and halls at Oxford were provided with libraries, and one of the oldest existing libraries in England is that of Merton College, Oxford, where there are still some of the chains by which books were attached to the shelves and protected from dishonest readers. The usual classification of books was into Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Grammar, and Medicine. At the Reformation, the libraries of religious houses were dispersed or destroyed, but many of their more important MSS. fell into the hands of the great seventeenth-century collectors. Even college and University collections of MSS. fell on evil days, and many MSS. may yet be seen used for the binding of books, and similar purposes. The oldest of our great libraries is the University Library at Cambridge, some of the MSS. in which have been in the possession of the University since the beginning of the fifteenth century. The University Library at Oxford received

in 1439–46 an important gift of MSS. from Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, all of which were lost at the Reformation, and the Library really dates from the foundation of Sir Thomas Bodley in 1602. The British Museum, in its existing form, dates only from 1752, but it contains the old Royal Library, which brought to the treasures of the Museum, in 1757, some 1800 MSS., many of them of great value. The seventeenth century added largely to the numbers of libraries, and the great collectors of books and MSS. first appear in that century. The most important college collections of MSS. belong to Balliol, Christ Church, and Trinity at Oxford, and Trinity and Corpus Christi at Cambridge.

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XII

ART

1. Anglo-Saxon Art.

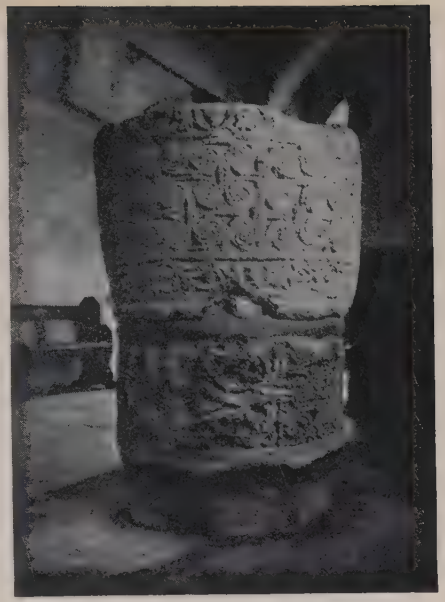
Just as the Roman occupation had almost entirely ousted Celtic art from Roman Britain, so Roman art disappeared in its turn before the English invasion. The Conquest did not in itself produce any new artistic impulse, for the invaders were less civilized than the conquered Britons. But it marks the beginning of an epoch in which various circumstances combined to produce a definite artistic style which may be described as Anglo-Saxon. It was derived from two sources, one coming from continental Europe, the other from Ireland, where Celtic art had taken refuge and developed independently. Both were intimately connected with the Christian Church.

With the coming of Augustine and the Italian missionaries (597) Southern England was once more brought directly into connexion with the traditional art of the lands which had belonged to the Roman Empire. That art, in its home in Italy, was in a debased state at this period, but in two respects it was superior to anything then existing in the British Isles. The first was Architecture. Celtic and Anglo-Saxon buildings were of the most elementary character when of stone, and were generally constructed only in wood. Italy had inherited the tradition of classical Architecture, though in a degraded form, and was beginning to develop out of this a distinctive style—the earliest Romanesque. Again, in the representation of the human figure, whether in sculpture or in painting, the classical tradition gave to continental art a superiority over the style which had been developed out of the late-Celtic art in the

Irish monasteries, though in decorative perfection it was far inferior.

It is more than half a century after the death of Augustine before we get any definite traces of Italian influence. Bishop Wilfrith and Benedict Biscop were the first to introduce into England builders and artists from Gaul and Italy. Of Wilfrith's church at Hexham (*c.* 672) we still possess fragments of scenes in bas-relief, and portions of a string-course representing in relief the baluster shafts [Pl. I, no. 1], which were a characteristic ornament of these buildings and apparently of local origin. Baluster shafts employed in windows and doorways have also survived from Biscop's churches at Monkwearmouth (*c.* 675) and Jarrow (685). This architectural activity was not confined to the North. At Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts) a fragment of a doorway, perhaps from the church built by Aldhelm (*d.* 709), is interesting as showing the characteristic Irish design of the returning spiral; an indication of the fusion of the two streams of influence, in this case perhaps to be explained by the fact that the mother abbey of Malmesbury was founded by an Irish monk Maelduib, under whom Aldhelm was brought up. The parish church of Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), the oldest portions of which cannot be much later than this period, presents another instance of the union of Irish and Italian influence. The pilasters of a window in the west wall are fluted in rude reminiscence of classical design, while the sides of the font are covered with panels of the returning spiral pattern, bordered by bands of conventional foliage thoroughly characteristic of contemporary Italian art [Pl. LXIX, 1].

But the finest examples of the decorative work of this period are to be found in the stone crosses mainly existing in the north of England. The perfection of both design and execution in the earliest specimens shows that they must be the work of foreign artists such as those brought over by Wilfrith and Biscop. They are in fact superior to any contemporary Italian work that has survived. The characteristics of that work are interlaced patterns and bands of conventional foliage. These, combined with representations of the human figure and simple scenes in relief, are precisely the features of



1. FONT AT DEERHURST.

2. ACCA CROSS.

FONT AT BRIDEKIRK.

the English crosses. The earliest is that at Bewcastle (Cumberland), the inscription on which apparently records the death of Alcfrith (before 670), the patron of Wilfrith. The masterly design of its conventionalized vine-foliage, together with the dignity of pose and effective drapery of the figures which occupy one of the faces, give a high idea of the powers of the sculptor. To a later generation belongs the sepulchral cross of Acca, bishop of Hexham (*d.* 740), preserved in the cathedral library at Durham [Pl. LXIX, 2]. Here the interlacing vine-scrolls are designed with even greater decorative skill than in the earlier examples; and as this can hardly be the work of Wilfrith's Italian sculptors, we can only say that the school which they founded at Hexham rivalled and even surpassed its masters. A unique example in metal-work of the art of this style and period is the cup of silver lined with copper (both gilt) from Ormside (Westmoreland: now in the York Museum), the sides of which are decorated in *repoussé* with a fine design of conventional foliage, including fanciful birds and beasts. An example of a late survival of this northern school of sculpture is the font at Bridekirk (Cumberland: cast in the South Kensington Museum), probably of the twelfth century [Pl. LXX]. Specimens of woodwork are naturally very rare. The fragments of the coffin in which the body of St. Cuthbert was deposited in 698, preserved in the cathedral library, Durham, are decorated with figures of saints and angels drawn in incised lines. They are rude in character, and mainly interesting as showing their classical origin. To the eighth century belongs a carved whalebone casket in the British Museum with sacred, classical, and Teutonic subjects, and Runic inscriptions in the Northumbrian dialect.

We may also notice here that later, with the arrival of the Norsemen, an element of Scandinavian art was introduced into the district. Stories from the Edda appear on crosses, of which that at Gosforth (Cumberland) is the most notable instance. This so-called 'Viking' art is distinguished by an absence of the classical scroll-work, by peculiar forms of interlacing, and by the characteristic dragon monsters. The latter, it may be observed, appear on the font at Bridekirk.

Just as the two streams of missionary influence, the Irish and the Italian, met and coalesced in the north of England (Synod of Whitby, 664), so we find subsequent to that event a combination of the artistic elements which each side brought with it, the southern however tending always to predominate. The Irish influence is most noticeable in illuminated manuscripts. Thus the Lindisfarne Gospels (*c.* 700: British Museum) must have been executed by some artist who, while thoroughly at home in the typical Irish ornament, copied with more or less success figure subjects (e.g. the Evangelists) from some South Italian MS. which had perhaps been brought to England by one of the companions of Archbishop Theodore (668). Another MS. from Canterbury (the Cottonian Psalter: British Museum) of not much later date, and of the same character, shows that this tendency to combine the best features in the two styles, Irish ornament and Italian figure subjects, spread to the south of England [Pl. LXXI, 1].

Out of these elements there grew up in England an Anglo-Saxon art. The imported foreign culture took root, and by the time of Charles the Great the English monasteries (especially in the north) form centres of learning and art superior to anything in Western Europe outside of Italy. The manuscripts connected with the name of Alcuin of York (735–804) served as models for the artists employed by Charles the Great and for the Carolingian school of manuscripts generally. But we possess hardly any remains of this first period of Anglo-Saxon art. It came to an end with the ruin caused by the Danish invasions in the ninth century, and after this time the northern school (represented by York and Lindisfarne) ceases to be important.

When Alfred (871–901) restored security a revival took place, but now the inspiration has to come once more from the continent, and the chief art centre is Winchester. The most important monuments of the later Anglo-Saxon period which have come down to us are the illuminated manuscripts, and in these the influence of the Carolingian style, in which many artistic elements, Eastern and Western, united to enrich the old classical tradition, is apparent. The Benedictional of Ethel-

ANGLO-SAXON IVORY CARVING: ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
(*S. K. M.*)

1. DAVID PLAYING ON THE PSALTERY.
(*Cottonian Psalter: Canterbury.*)

2. BENEDICTIONAL OF ETHELWOLD:
ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
(*Chatsworth Library.*)

wold bishop of Winchester (963–984), in the Duke of Devonshire's library at Chatsworth, shows what magnificent results were produced in Southern England. Fine drawing of the figures and drapery of many folds in the classical style are combined with great splendour of colour [Pl. LXXI, 2]. The conventional foliage of the borders, while containing reminiscences of the Irish interlaced ornament, is also mainly due to classical inspiration. In the course of the tenth century a style which, though of continental origin, became characteristic of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, was developed in the outline illustrations representing scenes with small elongated figures, in rather conventional attitudes and with fluttering drapery, but far from contemptible in drawing. The ultimate source of inspiration, as before, is to be found in the classical style.

The Anglo-Saxon coinage again, though the designs are derived from continental models, shows a high level of excellence. The coins of Offa king of Mercia (755–796) have been described as the best drawn and executed of Western Europe between 750 and 1000. Of the rare examples of finer metal-work which have come down to us the most important is the so-called 'Alfred jewel' (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, found in the Isle of Athelney)—a human figure (perhaps Christ) in coloured enamels enclosed in an elaborate gold setting with an inscription stating that 'Alfred commanded me to be made.' The peculiar and elementary drawing of the figure as well as the ornamental gold work recall certain forms of Irish art. An *ouche* or brooch of similar style, in which the crowned head of a man in enamel is framed in a border of gold filigree work (British Museum: 'The Roach-Smith Jewel; found in London'), shows that the Alfred jewel was not unique. These pieces give a high idea of the skill of the Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths.

Of the larger Anglo-Saxon buildings practically nothing has survived. But we still possess a number of smaller churches, or rather portions of them, which can be dated before the Conquest. Among others may be mentioned those at Barnack and Earl's Barton in Northamptonshire [Pl. I, no. 1], Bosham in Sussex, St. Michael's at St. Albans, and St. Michael's, Oxford. Though the architectural members are of great simplicity, so far

as we can judge there is more elaboration than in the earlier Anglo-Saxon work. Its principal features however, such as the baluster shafts, are retained. Such attempts at decorative treatment as have survived are confined to the exterior (long-and-short work in the quoins, panelling, baluster shafts, &c.). In Chichester Cathedral are two bas-reliefs (eleventh century: casts in the South Kensington Museum) which came from the destroyed Anglo-Saxon church at Selsey. The treatment of the figures, the drapery, &c., recalls the manuscripts, but in this instance at least is inferior, the effect being ungainly and even grotesque. This late Anglo-Saxon art is also illustrated by an important ivory carving in the South Kensington Museum representing the adoration of the Magi [Pl. LXX A].

2. The Norman Period.

Though the Normans cannot be said to have introduced a new style into England, the Conquest marks an epoch in the history of English art owing to their great capacities as architects. The very frequent remains of Norman work in churches, whether monastic or parochial, all over England, show an immense architectural activity during the first century after the Conquest. Though the earliest builders were naturally Frenchmen, from the first the Norman architecture in England has a character of its own which gives it a claim to be called a national style. Its distinctive feature is massiveness of construction. The enormous pillars, for instance, supporting the arches of an arcade are sometimes quite out of proportion, not merely to the weight which they have to carry, but also to the general effect of the building [Pl. LXXII]. In the later examples the capitals are sometimes elaborately carved with conventional foliage or scroll-work of fine decorative character [Pl. II]. The original massiveness of Norman construction was gradually modified into a transitional style in which, though the round arch remained, many of the features of early Gothic were anticipated.

The large wall-surfaces and simple vaulting or flat ceilings of the Norman churches gave an opportunity for pictorial decora-

NORMAN PILLARS: NAVE OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

1. ST. PAUL SHAKING OFF THE VIPER.
(Wall Painting: Canterbury.)

2. DAVID PLAYING ON THE HARP.
(Psalter: Royal MSS. Brit. Mus.)

tion in fresco, the earliest paintings of the kind of which we have any remains in England. Those in Canterbury Cathedral were specially famous. To this series probably belonged the frescoes still existing in St. Gabriel's Chapel in the crypt, which represent Christ enthroned and scenes (e. g. the Annunciation) in which the archangel Gabriel plays a part. They are drawn in strong outlines, the colours being afterwards filled in. It need scarcely be said that the pose and elaborate drapery of the figures show their derivation from the 'classical' style. Important as these frescoes are in the history of English painting, they are careful rather than great works of art. Far finer is the (probably contemporary) figure of St. Paul in the chapel of St. Anselm in the upper church, a noble figure, with finely drawn head and classical drapery, against a blue background [Pl. LXXIII, 1]. The small church of Kempley (Gloucestershire) has also preserved the original decoration of its chancel, which, for its scale, is a singularly complete example of the wall-painting of this period. And here we must not omit to notice (for such things have rarely survived) the decoration in colour applied to the carved stonework (capitals, mouldings, &c.) of the chancel-arch.

The other great branch of pictorial art, the illuminated MSS., is not very largely represented in this period. The earlier ones, while retaining the essential characteristics of the style existing in England before the Conquest, are distinguished by truer and stronger drawing in the figure subjects, and by the development of the purely decorative features—the initial letter and the border. Later, signs of the impending change to a new style become apparent. A typical MS. of the latter part of the century (Psalter: Royal MSS., British Museum) shows hardly any traces of the Anglo-Saxon style [Pl. LXXIII, 2]. The drapery is no longer of the classical type, clinging to the limbs and with many strongly marked folds, but lies broadly upon the figure. All these changes may be safely attributed to the closer connexion of England with the continent since the Conquest.

It is in this period that we first come across any remains of stained glass (Canterbury Cathedral), though there are references to its existence even in Anglo-Saxon times. Scenes with small

figures of the classical type [Pl. LXXIV, 1] are framed in conventional foliage and scroll-work, the whole in deep and rich colours. Hence there is little relief or contrast, and the effect is decorative rather than pictorial. It therefore illustrates the same tendencies which have been described in the MSS. of the period.

3. The Thirteenth Century and the rise of Gothic Art.

Hitherto, ever since the restoration of England to its share in the culture of Western Christendom, we have seen that English art and architecture have been dominated by the classical tradition, i. e. that system of design which can be traced back to the art of the late Roman Empire, two prominent characteristics being the round arch, and the treatment of the human figure with its drapery, derived from models in sculpture. With the thirteenth century we reach a great artistic revolution—the creation of 'Gothic' art. Its leading features are the pointed arch, a larger use of naturalistic as opposed to conventional ornament, and in representations, whether in sculpture or in painting, greater freedom, truth, and originality of treatment. Though the origin of this movement is to be sought in France, yet from this time onwards English art becomes increasingly independent and individual. The artistic impulse which was expressed by this independence and casting aside of traditional forms produced work of a very high order, especially in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when the inspiration was still fresh and pure. Though some forms of this art did not reach perfection till the middle of the fourteenth century, even then it had begun to suffer from over-elaboration. Later, the work in most departments failed to maintain the high artistic quality of the earlier period, though in one case—stained glass—the finest achievements belong to the fifteenth century.

This is not the place for tracing in detail the development of Gothic architecture, but we may remark that its earliest form (Early English), with its richly moulded pointed arches and graceful Purbeck marble shafts crowned by exquisitely designed

I. NORMAN STAINED GLASS, CANTERBURY: THE HEATHEN LEAVE THEIR IDOLS AND FOLLOW CHRIST.

2. SPANDREL, ANGEL CHOIR, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL: ST. MICHAEL WEIGHING THE SOULS.

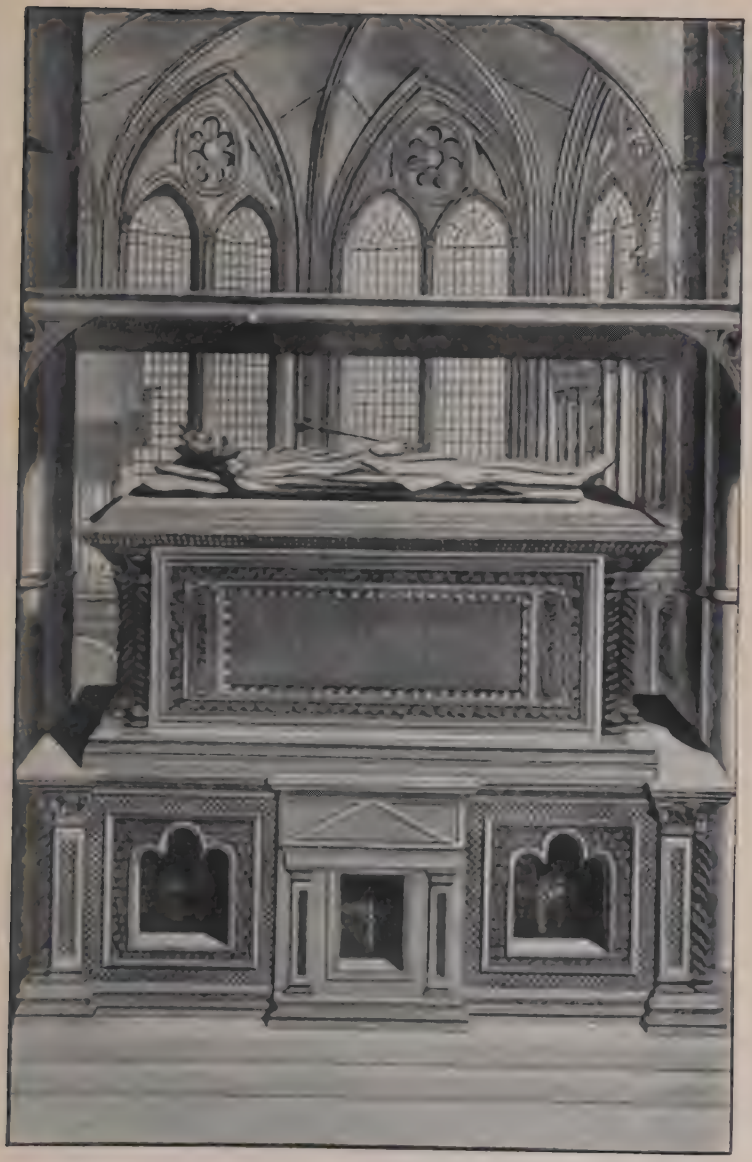
FROM PAINTED CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER: MEEKNESS SUBDUING ANGER.

capitals of free though conventional foliage, produces an effect of combined strength and beauty which is perhaps not equalled in any other style. The elaborate design of prominent portions of the exteriors, such as the west and transept fronts, gave an opportunity for the introduction of sculpture in the form of single figures or of groups. The sculpture of this period was never surpassed in England. Preserving much of the severity of form, dignity in attitude, and treatment of drapery, derived indirectly from classical models, it shows at the same time a freedom and originality and sometimes a grandeur of style which give it a high place in the history of art. We may select as examples the sculptures in the west front of Wells Cathedral (1213–39), the most complete specimen in England; the grand figure (now mutilated) of Christ enthroned, from the south-east porch of Lincoln Cathedral (cast in the South Kensington Museum); and, from the end of the period, the graceful figures of angels in the spandrils of the arches in the Angel Choir of the same church [Pl. LXXIV, 2].

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the sepulchral effigy becomes important as a form of sculpture. The figures are generally those of warriors and ecclesiastics; and the close-fitting mail of the former as well as the dignified drapery of the latter gave an opportunity for much grace and nobility of treatment. One of the most perfect monuments is the tomb of Archbishop Walter de Gray (*d.* 1255) in York Minster (cast in the South Kensington Museum), where the fine effigy is combined with the graceful architecture and decorative sculpture of the period. The frequent use, however, of Purbeck and other hard marbles was generally an obstacle to the attainment of a very high artistic result, or of any beyond elementary portraiture. We must suppose that the effigies were usually executed at the places where the material was quarried, such as the Isle of Purbeck and in Sussex. A peculiarly English motive, introduced about the middle of the thirteenth century, was the representation of the recumbent warrior with the legs crossed [Pl. LXI, 1, 3], a natural attitude of repose in life in which state these figures generally appear, usually with open eyes and sometimes in the act of sheathing the sword. The practice (which, it may

be added, had no connexion with the Crusades) lasted for about a century and gradually disappeared with the introduction of plate armour, for which the posture is as unfitted as it is appropriate for the close-fitting and yielding chain-mail.

It was about the middle of the thirteenth century that English art blossomed out into its first stage of perfection. We have already noticed the great development of sculpture in connexion with the cathedral buildings of the period. Not less important for painting was the impulse derived from royal patronage. The severely beautiful seal executed for Henry III at the beginning of his reign by Walter de Ripa, representing the king seated on his throne as the dispenser of justice, and on the reverse as a warrior on horseback, is an indication of the high standard set by the artists in the service of the Court. Later, the records reveal great activity in the decoration of the royal residences, chiefly with mural paintings. The most important of these works were those in 'the King's Great Chamber' in the palace of Westminster, which came in consequence to be known as the 'Painted Chamber.' Early in the next century they are referred to by travellers as being a well-known sight [Pl. LXXV]. The paintings, which we only know from copies made in 1819 by Stothard from the surviving fragments, were arranged on the walls of the room in six bands or tiers, increasing in breadth as they were farther removed from the eye. The subjects (mainly the Old Testament history) were represented in brilliant colours with a rather sparing use of gold, on blue (occasionally red or green) backgrounds. The figures wear the costume and armour of the time. The action is clearly and directly expressed and singularly free from conventionality, apart from certain obvious limitations, such as the absence of perspective and foreshortening. The drawing without being fine is sufficiently good to express the idea of the artist, and the crowded battle-scenes especially are full of vigour and movement. The source of such designs is perhaps suggested to us by an order of the king to the Master of the Temple to lend a French MS. to one of the royal painters, for use in decorating rooms in the Tower and at Westminster. The accounts give



TOMB OF HENRY III, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

PERCY SHRINE, BEVERLEY MINSTER.

us the names of a number of painters in the king's employment, sometimes members of one family, and, with unimportant exceptions, of English nationality. At the end of Henry's long reign there was a curious invasion of foreign taste in the shape of the shrine of Edward the Confessor (finished 1280) and the surrounding pavement in Westminster Abbey, executed by Peter 'a Roman citizen,' in the characteristic style of decoration with mosaics and inlaid marbles connected with the family of artists at Rome called Cosmati. The king's tomb close by is another example of this exotic art. On the other hand, the gilt metal effigies of Henry and his queen are the work of an English goldsmith, William Torel, and display the severe dignity and grace of the sculpture of the time [Pl. LXXVI]. Finally, among the works due to the patronage of Henry III we must not forget the rebuilding of the choir and transepts of Westminster Abbey (1245–69) in an elaborated style which is already forming the transition to 'Decorated' architecture.

4. The Fourteenth Century and the Perfection of English Art.

It was in the latter half of the thirteenth century that the new style was developed, and it continued for about a hundred years. In this period, though the architecture is perhaps not more dignified than that which preceded it, while the great age of stained glass is still to come, art as a whole reached its greatest perfection in medieval England. The chief architectural feature is the traceried window [Pl. XII], which gave quite a new character to buildings. Noticeable also is the carved foliage, often imitating natural forms (the oak-leaf, vine, &c.), though arranged in a conventional and decorative way [Pl. XIII]. The enrichment of all the architectural members by mouldings or carved ornaments is carried to the extreme allowed by a sense of good taste and proportion [Plates XIII, XIV]. In the interiors these members were further treated in colour, thus combining with the stained glass and wall-paintings to produce an effect of great decorative completeness. Moreover the woodwork of screens and stalls, which from the nature

of the material demands a certain elaboration for purposes o effect, and had therefore hitherto been unimportant owing to the simplicity of the prevailing style, now attains its prope development, following the lines of the architecture.

The canopied tombs, which now become an important featur in churches, give a good idea of the decorative qualities of th style. The upper portion is of two forms; either an arch unde a gable, or an erection of open tabernacle-work in several tiers Examples of the former, elaborately decorated with the beautifu foliage of the period, are the tomb of Aymer de Valence (1324 at Westminster and the Percy shrine (*c.* 1360) in Beverle Minster [Pl. LXXVII]. The tabernacle-work of the other form doe not give such scope for ornament; but its grace, lightness, an proportion have great merit, though the second of these qualitie is sometimes carried to an extreme scarcely appropriate to th material. The tombs of Edward II (1327) at Glouceste [Pl. LXXVIII] and of Hugh le Despenser (1349) and Sir Gu de Brien (*d.* 1390: erected in his lifetime) at Tewkesbury ar good examples. The recumbent effigies, as works of art, ar scarcely equal to their magnificent setting. The attempts a portraiture, though more marked than in the preceding perio are still elementary: the features are flat, and the posture stiff and uninteresting, an effect often due to the armour. B the use of the comparatively soft alabaster for the figure—that Edward II at Gloucester is one of the earliest instances—gav greater scope for freedom in the pose, and a richer treatment drapery and other details.

The fragments from St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (*c.* 135 now in the British Museum, give an idea of the high standa attained in painting at this period. So far as any comparis is possible, they show an advance on the works in the Painte Chamber. They consist of small scenes which occupied t lower part of the lights in the side-windows of the chapel. T subjects are taken from the stories of Job and Tobit, and a treated with considerable freedom and originality. The fac and attitudes are natural and expressive, and the execution almost of miniature finish. The backgrounds are of gess stamped with patterns and gilt. Other paintings in the chap

TOMB OF EDWARD II, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

L. C. Barnard, Del. PAINTINGS FROM ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER.

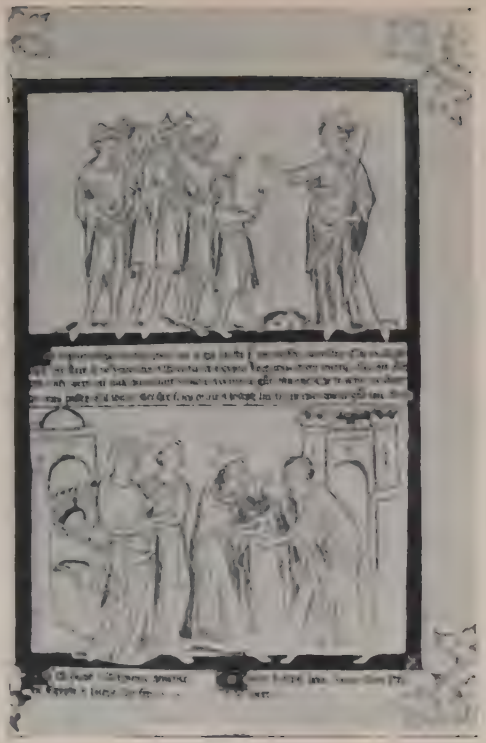
are known to us from drawings and tracings made in 1805. The most important were a series of portraits of Edward III and his family, which are of more conventional character and analogous to the better work in stained glass, and standing figures of angels holding up brocaded draperies, which occupied the background of the arcade below the windows [Pl. LXXIX]. We learn from the accounts of payments made for the work that all the artists employed, whether in painting, glass, or sculpture, were Englishmen. This chapel after its restoration by Edward III (*c.* 1330–60) must have formed a monument of the finest English art of the period.

Meanwhile the emancipation from the old traditions which resulted from the new artistic impulse of the thirteenth century had been making itself felt in the manuscript illuminations. The initial letter and the border were developed till in the fourteenth century they became the most important features of manuscript decoration. The illustrations again, so far as they survive, show an independent character similar to that of the remains of mural painting of the same period. The freedom and delicacy of drawing which had been attained in the early part of the fourteenth century is well illustrated by the MS. known from its later owner as Queen Mary's Psalter (British Museum), which contains scenes from the history of the Old Testament [Pl. LXXX, 1]. The graceful drawing of the figures, the animation of the scenes of action (battles, &c.), and the refinement of the colouring, combine to make this the masterpiece of English pictorial art in the Middle Ages, and confirm the high opinion which the remains of mural decoration would lead us to form about fourteenth-century painting in England.

English paintings on panel of the fourteenth century are so rare that we must not omit to notice the (damaged) reredos with scenes from the Passion in Norwich Cathedral (facsimile in the South Kensington Museum), in a peculiar and individual style which does not suggest any immediate foreign influence [Pl. LXXXI]. The heads are disproportionately large, and the drawing generally is not fine. The backgrounds are of gold stamped with patterns. More important are the two panel portraits of Richard II. The earlier, a diptych (Wilton House), represents the youthful king

(probably before his marriage in 1382) kneeling before the Virgin and Child, to whom he is presented by SS. John Baptist, Edward the Confessor, and Edmund the King [Pl. LXXXII]. It is painted in brilliant colours with a gold background, and though several attempts have been made to assign to it a foreign origin, there seems no reason, in the absence of any more definite analogies, why it should not have been painted by one of the school of artists in the king's employment who produced such excellent work under Edward III. The same verdict may be passed on the full-length seated figure of the king in his royal robes belonging to Westminster Abbey. The suggestion of melancholy in the face gives an impression of true portraiture, while the carefully modelled forms, the well-arranged drapery, and the soft rich tones generally show an artist of no mean capacity. In considering the origin of these works it must not be forgotten that similar characteristics are to be found in some of the best contemporary English MSS. Describing a miniature of St. Jerome from a Bible (end of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, Sir E. Maunde Thompson calls attention to 'the finished modelling of the features of the saint's face and the care with which the flesh tints have been applied' as characteristic of English work of the period and probably a native development, though possibly not unconnected with the Flemish school of painting, which was famous for the softness and depth of its colouring.

With the great increase of window-space the stained glass of this period (which is comparatively rare) makes a considerable advance. In the earlier instances the small figures in the traditional attitudes on backgrounds of formal design or diaper-work recall the older style from which it started. The glass which has remained intact in the north windows of the Latin Chapel in Oxford Cathedral is an instance. The meagreness of effect with the increased glass-space led to the introduction of large figures under canopies, taking up the whole of each of the lights. In drawing these figures are inferior to those produced under the influence of the classical tradition, but they are important as being the first attempts at a more original and naturalistic style of representation. The range



1. FROM QUEEN MARY'S PSALTER.
(*British Museum.*)

(*a*) Joseph makes himself known to his brethren.
(*b*) Joseph receives Jacob in Egypt.

2. GRANDISON TRIPTYCH.
(*British Museum.*)

Centre: Coronation of the Virgin, and Crucifixion.
Left: SS. Peter and . . . . .
Right: SS. Paul and Thomas of Canterbury.

PORTION OF REREDOS, NORWICH CATHEDRAL: THE RESURRECTION.

of colour is also much greater, though in harmony, delicacy, and transparency the succeeding period is immensely superior. Characteristic examples are the seven windows in the choir and apse of Tewkesbury [Pl. LXXXIV]. The nave of York Minster is also rich in glass of this period.

The fourteenth century is also the great age of the brass, a form of monument in which the figure, with a framework of more or less architectural design, is incised on a plate of metal embedded in a slab forming part of the floor of the church. In English brasses the parts of the design are usually let into the stone separately. The earliest specimens that have survived belong to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and for boldness and precision of drawing, which was of course favoured by the material, these early brasses are unequalled. In the fourteenth century the treatment both in design and in drawing becomes more elaborate. Shading is introduced, and the folds of drapery are more complicated. The canopies and ornamental adjuncts are also considerably developed. Nor must we omit to notice the part which the admirable lettering of the inscriptions often has in the general decorative effect [Plates LXXXV; LXI, 2]. No English work, however, approaches in completeness and magnificence some Flemish examples, which are the most splendid brasses in England. Like most branches of art, in the next period brasses, though very numerous, degenerate in both design and execution.

The fourteenth century was the golden age of carving in ivory, a refined form of art which had its centre in France. These delicate reliefs of figures, or simple scriptural scenes under architectural canopies, were generally combined in triptychs or diptychs, and sometimes picked out with colour or gilding. The English specimens of this work are distinguished from the French by the same differences which appear in the contemporary sculpture. The excessive grace and sentimentality of the French work is contrasted with comparative severity and seriousness of expression accompanied by less finished workmanship in the English. A triptych in the British Museum which belonged to Bishop Grandison of Exeter (1327–69) is characteristic [Pl. LXXX, 2].

Among the minor forms in which English art of the best period manifested itself we must not omit to mention embroidery. English embroidery had always been famous, but in the latter part of the thirteenth century the invention of a new method brought it into still greater favour on the continent. This was described as *opus Anglicum* or English work, and its merit was that the treatment of the figures (wrought in a kind of chain stitch) produced the effect of low relief. The finest example is the Syon Cope (South Kensington Museum), [Pl. LXXXVI]. The surface, which is entirely covered with stitches, is treated with a pattern of intersecting quatrefoils which enclose single figures and scenes from the Gospel history. The effect is broadly decorative; rich, yet never crowded. The border is noticed on p. 126. We may call attention to a cope in the same collection as a fine example of English embroidery of a rather later date (early fourteenth century). On a red silk ground a trailing vine delicately covers the surface and forms a Tree of Jesse, enclosing the figures in circles of its foliage. Like most other branches of English art, embroidery deteriorated in the fifteenth century, both design and workmanship becoming comparatively coarse and formal.

5. The Fifteenth Century and the Period of Decline.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century it begins to be evident that a period of decline in art was setting in. It is not that there was any cessation of activity in building and decorating: on the contrary, the fifteenth century was the most busy of any age since the Norman, and has left its mark on nearly every ecclesiastical building in England. But Gothic art, except in the one department of glass-painting, lost much of its freshness, and true artistic feeling gave way to formality and mechanical ornamentation.

In architecture this is well illustrated by the 'Perpendicular' style of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which—to take a characteristic feature—the picturesque curvilinear window tracery of the later Decorated style is replaced by a formal arrangement which simply carries out the straight lines of

L. G. Barnard, Del.

WILTON HOUSE DIPTYCH: PORTRAIT OF RICHARD II.

ST. JOHN'S HEAD.
(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

the lower lights and their mullions [Pl. xv]. The result is great poverty of design. Analogous changes take place in the other parts of architecture. The flattened four-centred arch is not an artistic improvement on either the round or pointed form, and even the rather picturesque fan-tracery vaulting (a purely English development of the later fifteenth century) does not satisfy the eye from the point of view of construction [Pl. xix]. Capitals and mouldings become hard and meagre [Pl. xvi], and wall-surfaces are often covered with panelling which repeats the perpendicular tracery of the windows. Foliage, except in its most conventional form, almost disappears, and the finer stone carving is confined to tombs, reredoses, and screens.

On the other hand it must be allowed that the style had some merits, and often produced dignified and imposing results. Some of the church towers are extremely successful in their proportions and the combination of architectural ornament with a sense of solidity [Pl. xx, 2]. The interiors also, with their vast windows and slender columns, are very light and spacious, and admirably adapted for the needs of great parish churches. The glass must be dealt with separately, but we may mention here that the style was peculiarly appropriate to the carved woodwork of stall-canopies and screens, &c., in which elaborate formal ornament may be used with better effect than in stone. The chancel or rood-screens were an important decorative feature in English fifteenth-century churches [Pl. lxxxvii], and were completely coloured and gilt. A considerable number have survived (especially in Somerset, Devonshire, and Norfolk), and give an idea of the brightness and warmth of colour which was the aim of the church decoration of the fifteenth century.

The multiplication of niches and the abundance of splendid tombs gave great opportunity for sculpture, but in the treatment of the human figure it is rare in this period to find results of any great artistic merit. Images and sepulchral effigies alike are as a rule deficient in grace, expression, and a sense of form, and are only valuable as taking their place in the decorative scheme of the reredos or tomb to which they belong.

Perhaps the most favourable specimens of the statuary of the period are the images in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster. Alabaster was the favourite material for effigies, the more ordinary specimens being no doubt worked at the quarries in Derbyshire. It was also used for the small panels in relief of altars and reredoses, with which may be classed the 'St. John's Heads,' produced apparently at Nottingham [Pl. LXXXIII]. The figures are naïve in expression and clumsy in form; certainly much inferior to the better work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In wood carving we must not forget the lively scenes represented under the so-called *Misericords*, which mostly belong to this period.

A more splendid form of sepulchral effigy was the figure in gilt metal by which great personages are represented on their tombs. The metal-workers were evidently superior as artists to the sculptors. The effigy of the Black Prince (1376) at Canterbury is a favourable specimen, but the monument (*c.* 1454) of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (*d.* 1439), is the grandest example [Pl. XLVI, 2, 3]. Apart from the perfection of the execution, the head of the recumbent figure shows great character, while the small figures round the tomb exhibit a grace and variety in the drapery quite unusual in the ordinary works of this period. It is possible that these merits may be partly due to foreign (Flemish) workmen. The contracts for the chapel at Warwick in which the tomb stands give some information about the craftsmen of the period. The figure and the metal-work of the tomb was made by William Austen, 'citizen and founder of London,' and Bartholomew Lambespring, 'Dutchman and goldsmyth of London.' The marble tomb was the work of John Bourde, 'marbler of Corff Castle.' The stall-work and painting was also due to London artists. On the other hand, John Prudde of Westminster, 'glasier,' was to fill the windows 'with glasse beyond the seas and with no glasse of England.'

This exception is remarkable, for the most important artistic product of the period in England was the stained glass. The great size of the windows with their regular forms gave wide scope for the display of large single figures or of scenes in very

WINDOW IN CHOIR, TEWKESBURY CHURCH.

The first, third, and fourth figures are Earls of Gloucester (Clare), the second is William, Baron Zouche of Mortimer.

1. BRASS OF LADY DE COBHAM, 1320.
(*Cobham, Kent.*)

2. BRASS OF BISHOP TRILLICK, 1360.
(*Hereford Cathedral.*)

3. BRASS OF JOHN MAPILTON, PRIEST, 1432.
(*Broadwater, Sussex.*)

light and transparent colours, the clearness and brightness of the effect being increased by a liberal use of white or yellow glass. The drawing, though it seldom reaches a very high level, shows a great advance. The pose of the figures becomes natural, and they are given a proper relief and roundness. As in all English pictorial art of the period, the expression is naïve rather than grand or dignified. But the general effect is extraordinarily successful, and it is hardly too much to say that the highest capacities of stained glass have never been more nearly attained than in the finer fifteenth-century English windows.

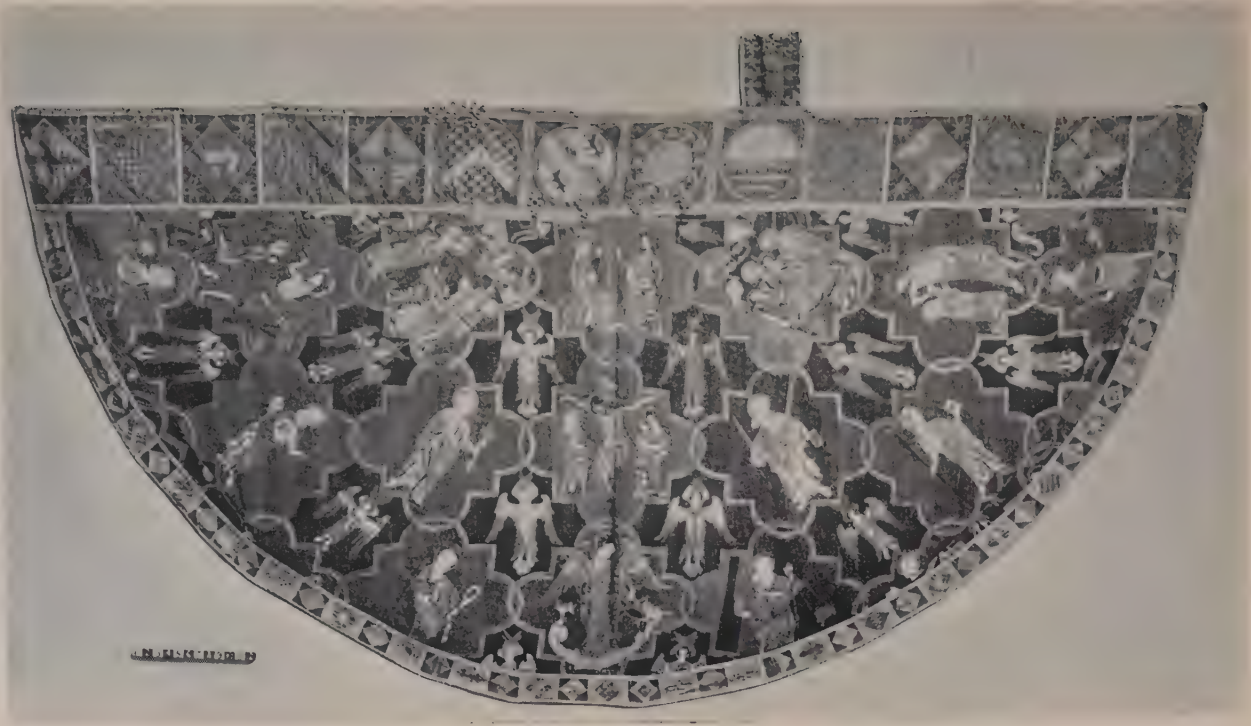
Fine early examples of this work may be seen in the windows of the ante-chapel, New College, Oxford (*c.* 1389). The full-length figures of saints and prophets have still much of the 'Decorated' character. The effect is flat, the heads are large, the attitudes sometimes clumsy, and the drawing generally is indifferent. But great advance is shown in brightness and transparency of effect by the use of very light glass in the canopies and of delicate half-tints (especially greens and pinks) in the drapery. The progress of the art is well illustrated in the churches and Minster at York, where the east window of the choir and the north and south windows of the eastern transepts are specially important from their great size, and cover the period from 1405 to about 1430. Very fine examples of the work of the latter half of the century may be seen in the Priory Church, Great Malvern, the latest window being of 1502. The character of the glass produced under royal patronage, and therefore likely to be the best of its kind, is illustrated by the very rich windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge. The four earliest were executed 1515–25 by Barnard Flower, 'the king's glazier,' and in 1526 contracts for the rest of the work were signed with some London glaziers, of whom four were English and two Flemish. The windows of 'the kynges newe Chapell at Westmynster' are referred to as the standard after which the new work is to be executed. Probably therefore the glass in Henry VII's Chapel (now destroyed) was executed by the same artists. The source of these and similar designs may well have been some of those numerous series of popular

illustrations of the Gospel history which were produced in Europe from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards.

The remains of painting in England at this period are more copious than at any other. The general impression which they convey is that pictorial art had not passed beyond the stage of mere illustration and decoration. They are generally devoid of the higher artistic qualities, and there is hardly anything to compare with the work in St. Stephen's Chapel. The mural paintings are the most numerous. Just as every church at this time that could afford it had its windows filled with the clear and brilliant glass of the period, so the walls were covered with painted scenes. Having been whitewashed over at the time of the Reformation many of these have been preserved, in a more or less damaged state. Unfortunately they nearly always belong to the ordinary parish churches, where we could not expect to find the finer work. In facial expression, action, and composition, they show a thoroughly naïve and simple character; while, even when we take into account the difference of the medium, there is nothing analogous to the brilliant effects achieved in glass.

Typical examples of the better class of such work may be seen in Pickering Church, Yorkshire. The scene of the martyrdom of St. Edmund, in which the king, bound naked to a tree, like St. Sebastian, is being shot at by archers, even displays some of the higher artistic qualities in a sense of form and of symmetrical composition, and is altogether one of the most favourable surviving specimens [Pl. LXXXVIII].

Paintings on panel, even for purposes of church decoration, are much rarer, partly owing to destruction of such objects at the time of the Reformation, and also because the painted altar-piece was not common in England. In the Eastern Counties and in Devonshire a certain number of screens have survived, the lower panels of which contain figures of saints. Those in the Eastern Counties are older and generally superior to those in the West, which were probably inspired by them. In no case however do they reach a high level as works of art. Some panels from a screen erected in St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, in 1451, may be seen in the South Kensington



THE SYON COPE.
(*S. K. M.*)

FIFTEENTH CENTURY SCREEN AT BISHOP'S LYDIARD CHURCH,
SOMERSETSHIRE.

Museum. A unique altar-piece (probably near to 1550) in Gloucester Cathedral represents the Last Judgement. The art is still Gothic, though Renaissance details occur, and gold is freely used. The heads and features are coarse, and the figures short and clumsy. The inscriptions (texts) are in English, and there are no definite traces of foreign influence in the picture [Pl. LXXXIX].

From Richard II onwards we have a continuous series of English royal portraits, for the most part very inferior productions. Examples may be seen in the National Portrait Gallery. They are probably the work of the king's 'serjeant painters,' the (English) names of some of whom are known. At the beginning of the sixteenth century royal patronage was transferred to foreign artists, of whom the most important were the German portrait-painter, Hans Holbein, and the Italian sculptor, Pietro Torrigiano (tomb of Henry VII). Though Holbein had a number of English imitators, he entirely supplanted any traces of a national style. Some of the best results of his influence are to be seen in the miniature painters, Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619) and Isaac Oliver (1556–1617).

Medieval English plate is very rare. The Civil Wars in the fifteenth century were as fatal to precious objects of this kind in great houses as the religious changes of the sixteenth were to those in monasteries and churches. Of the ecclesiastical plate which has survived, the late-Gothic chalices form the most important class. The best specimens show great elegance of design and fine workmanship, but they cannot be said to display any very marked English characteristics. In this connexion we may also refer to the crozier of William of Wykeham belonging to New College, Oxford, one of the most elaborate examples in existence. Of the various kinds of secular or domestic plate, some, such as the mazer-bowls, from the simplicity of their form, scarcely admit of high artistic treatment. From the latter point of view the most important are the vessels for holding salt, and the tall covered cups. The finest surviving examples belong to the very end of Gothic art, and soon begin to show the influence of the Renaissance. A number of these belong to corporate bodies, who have been

better able to preserve them than private or even royal owners. The very gracefully shaped 'Foundress's Cup' (about 1440) at Christ's College, Cambridge, is still of purely Gothic design [Pl. xc]. It is ornamented with diagonal bands of beautiful foliage in *repoussé* work. More magnificent is the Salt (about 1490) given by Bishop Fox to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on which all the resources of the goldsmith's art of the time have been lavished. Beautiful objects of this kind were produced in the Elizabethan age after the influence of the Renaissance had superseded the Gothic tradition. Though modelled on foreign types (especially Italian and German) in form and ornament, they are nevertheless, like the architecture of the period, distinctively English. A notable example is the covered cup given by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge [Pl. xci].

6. The Influence of the Italian Renaissance.

Before the end of the fifteenth century the forms of the Italian Renaissance began to make their way into England, at first only in ornamental details and subsidiary construction. The Gothic feeling was far too deeply rooted in England to be easily eradicated, and it was not till well into the seventeenth century that an English architect could be found capable of producing works of a purely classical taste. Meanwhile there was a long period of transition. The Reformation brought to a close the series of great ecclesiastical buildings, and with them, we may note, glass-painting, except for heraldic purposes, came to an end. On the other hand, domestic architecture, whether in the form of great houses or of colleges, had wide scope. Hampton Court is the earliest specimen on a grand scale of this development. Its characteristics are a more monumental and dignified effect than had hitherto been attained in domestic buildings. Unity of design and symmetry prevail more and more over the picturesque confusion and irregularity of the older work. And while parts, such as the windows, and the timber roofs of the great hall, retain at least a Gothic outline, the ornamental features, such as doorways, friezes,

FRESCO IN PICKERING CHURCH, YORKS.

Come ye blessed &c
Go ye cursed &c
Brefor man lyst and drad the Iuge
I will thi workes remembre thy last,
and never wilt thou offend Ethelin

ALTAR PIECE, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.
('LAST JUDGEMENT.')

panelling, to which we may add furniture, are more and more inspired by Italian models [Pl. XXXII]. A style was thus developed peculiarly suited to domestic buildings, and at the same time quite individual and national in character. In its earlier and more Gothic form it is known as the Tudor or Elizabethan style, in the later and more classical as the Jacobean. Its most characteristic products are the monumental doorways [Pl. XIX], plaster-work of ceilings, and the woodwork of panelling and staircases. Sculpture in stone (often coloured and gilt when used internally) is also common, but it does not attain a high level of art. The figures whether isolated or in scenes, though modelled on the work of the Italian sculptors, are generally ill-proportioned and devoid of grace. Better results were obtained in the portrait-effigies on monuments, the heads being sometimes well moulded and expressive, while the ornamental accessories [Pl. XCII] have a very high degree of finish.

It is not our business here to follow the later fortunes of art in England, and a few words must suffice to indicate the course of events. For a moment it seemed possible that a school of English art might have grown up under royal patronage. Charles I, commanding the services of a foreign painter (Vandyck) and an English architect (Inigo Jones), both brought up in the great traditions of their respective arts, with a gallery of Italian masterpieces and a magnificent palace in which to house them, might under happier political conditions have provided the starting-point for a school of English art. But his pictures were scattered, and the new Whitehall was never built. The result was that native painting remained at a very low level till the eighteenth century, when Hogarth suddenly appeared with his scenes from English life, while portrait painting received a new impulse under Reynolds, and a characteristic English landscape style (especially in water colours) had its origin. Architecture, on the other hand, was more fortunate in maintaining a continuous tradition, at a high level, from Inigo Jones onwards. Here too the national feeling asserted itself, and a definite English Palladian style was produced.

Looking back over the whole period, it cannot be said that England has ever been the home of a great art. But, though again and again the impulse has come from without, the results have always been marked by independence and individuality. And among the countries of Europe the art of England holds a distinguished place, with, on the one hand, its perception of beauty, and, on the other, its dislike of sentimentality and exaggeration.

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FOUNDRESS'S CUP, CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

STANDING CUP, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

GLOSSARY

Abacus, the square, uppermost part of a capital. (Arch.)

Ad valorem duty, a duty levied upon, and varying with, the value of a commodity.

Ailettes, 'little wings,' p. 95, and Pl. LX, 6. (Armour.)

Ambry, a cupboard in a church in which to lock up sacred vessels, &c. (O.F. *armarie*; L.L. *armaria*, *-um*, a cupboard, originally for arms).

Anchoret, M.E. *ancre*, a hermit, or recluse (L.L. *anachoreta*, fr. Gk. *ἀναχωρητής*, one who has withdrawn from the world).

Arquebus, an improved hand-gun, either matchlock or wheel-lock.

Articulated, or **Laminated**, constructed with overlapping plates. (Armour.)

Aventaille, or **Ventail**, vizor (*avant-taille*).

Axial line, the central line round which, or in common relation to which, the parts of a building are arranged. (Arch.)

Badge, an emblematic figure, especially placed on some prominent part of the clothing of servants and retainers, such as the breast, back, sleeve, &c., to show to what household they belonged; found also on flags, buildings, &c.

Baluster, a small pillar, such as is used in balustrades; Pl. I, 1.

Barbed, rowed, and shorn, three finishing processes in the manufacture of cloth.

Bar-tracery, so called from its resemblance to iron bars bent to the forms required. (Arch.)

Bastille, redoubt or outwork. (Mil. Arch.)

Bavier, chin-piece; so called from its resemblance to a bib. (Armour.)

Bay, a constituent portion or compartment of a building, complete in itself and corresponding to other portions.

Bell-capital, Pl. VII, No. 4.

Bolting-house, a place where bran is bolted (i.e. sifted) from flour.

Bombasted, stuffed with cotton, hair, &c. (Costume.)

Burel cloth, coarse woollen cloth.

Buttery, M.E. *botelerie*; store room for beer, wine, and the like.

Cadency, marks of, marks by which the coats of arms of all kinsfolk by blood, other than that of the head of the family, were distinguished therefrom and from each other. 'Difference' is often loosely used in this sense.

Cadre, skeleton of a regiment or other military unit.

Caliver, or **arquebus de calibre**, so called from its bore being of a prescribed size as a matter of convenience in the supply of bullets; whereas before, the bore of arquebuses varied according to the individual discretion of captains of bands.

Camail, fr. Prov. *cap-malh* (*cap-mail*), i.e. head mail or armour.
Capitular, of or pertaining to an ecclesiastical chapter.
Caput baroniae, chief seat of a gentle family.
Carabine, rifled-barrelled matchlock.
Cellarer, steward, or bursar, of a monastery.
Chamfer, a surface formed by paring off an angle. (Arch.)
Chausses, breeches of mail or other pliant armour. In civilian costume = drawers.
Ciclatoun, a kind of silk. A Persian word = scarlet.
Cingulum, the military belt of a knight or gentleman.
Cinque-cento, Italian art of the sixteenth century.
Cocket, or **coket**, a document drawn up by the customer from the declarations of merchants exporting goods. It was the duty of the searcher in the port of export to search the goods when on ship-board, and verify by aid of the cocket the consignor's declarations.
Collateral shields. Before marshalling came into use, subsidiary coats of arms were often placed on separate shields by the side of, or round, the chief coat or 'coat of name.'
Corked shoes, shoes with cork pads inserted on which the wearer's heels were raised.
Corporation sole, a corporation composed of a single member, as contrasted with a 'corporation aggregate,' such as a dean and chapter, a mayor and commonalty, &c.
Coute, or **coudière**, elbow-piece. (Armour.)
Cranage, a charge for the use of a crane for loading or discharging a vessel.
Crocket, *lit.* a little crook or bend (Arch.); Pl. VII.
Cross Flory, Pl. LVI, 8.
Cross-œuillet, cross-shaped loop-holes, with the end of each arm enlarged into a circle to facilitate the use of firearms.
Cuir-bouilli, leather boiled in oil to render it easier to mould into shapes.
Cuirie, a body-defence of leather, a cuirass (which, as its derivation shows, was originally of that material).
Cuisses, thigh-armour.
Curtains, those portions of a fortified wall which connect adjacent flanking-towers.
Cushion-capital, Pl. II, No. 4.
Customers, officials who levied import and export duties.

Dagged, jagged.
Dalmatic, a long loose vesture with no opening in front, but slit some little way up each side, and having wide-mouthed sleeves.
Dead angle, an angle, the ground contained by which cannot be seen by the defenders, and is therefore indefensible. (Mil. Arch.)
Dead pays, introduced from the land service, in which the custom existed certainly as early as the reign of Henry VII. They were extra allowances, the pay of fictitious men, of which a certain number were permitted to be borne on the muster-roll of each company of soldiers or ship, for the purpose of increasing the pay of the officers. They were divided among the officers on some complex system not easy to determine.
Debruised, said of an animal charged on a shield and surmounted by an ordinary or other charge; Pl. LVIII, 4.
Demi-jambs, greaves. (Armour.)
Diaper, a repeated ornament that varies what would otherwise be a plain surface. (O.F. *diaspre*, varied, and so like *jasper*.)

Difference, an addition to, or a modification of, a coat of arms that, while it was often such as to indicate alliance with or dependence upon the bearer of that coat, also served as a distinguishing mark.

Diptych, a folding tablet of two leaves, joined together by strings or by hinges.

Dripstone, a projecting moulding above the heads of doors, windows, and other openings, primarily intended to throw off rain, but also found as an ornament in interior work.

Easterlings, the inhabitants of the eastern shores of the Baltic, and so generally those of the Hanse towns, whose 'easterling' became our 'sterling' money.

Enfeoffment, investiture with dignities or possessions.

Entablature, that part of the superstructure of a classical building which is supported by the columns.

Exchange. The exchange of English and foreign coins was a royal prerogative. A royal exchange was first set up by Henry I. Exchanges were established by Edward I at various trading centres, as York, Dover, Canterbury, with tables of rates. After the fourteenth century there was one at Calais. The central exchange office was in the Tower of London. The exchange was farmed out to capitalists; that is, the right to receive the profits arising from the exchange during a fixed period was sold by the Crown. The accounts of the exchangers are extant.

Fibula, a brooch.

Franchises of the City of London, the rights granted to the citizens by royal charters, viz. of Ed. the Confessor, Wm. I, Hen. I, Stephen, Hen. II, Rich. I, Ed. I and III, Rich. II, Hen. IV and V, &c. These charters were confirmed by succeeding sovereigns, and allowed the citizens to elect their own mayor and sheriffs, to hold civil and criminal courts, to levy their own taxation, to impose their own tolls, and generally to act independently of royal officers in their internal administration.

Frater, refectory. (Monastic.)

Freeman of a city, town, &c., a person entitled, either by birth, privileged admission, or admission by payment, to enter a craft gild or merchant gild of a town, and freely practise a craft or buy and sell within the town.

Fret, a network for confining the hair.

Gadlings, spikes, or knobs, on the knuckles of gauntlets.

Gambeson, a close-fitting, quilted tunic of defence, stuffed with wool, tow, rags, &c.

Gesso, a preparation of chalk.

Greek cross, a plain cross, the four limbs of which are of equal length.

Groining, the angular edges formed by the intersection of vaults in a ceiling.

Groundage, also called **strandage.** 'Every great vessel that grounds shall pay twopence for strandage. For a small vessel with oarlocks that grounds, one penny. For a boat that grounds, one halfpenny' (*Liber Albus, Tr.* Riley, 208). In 1545 fourpence was charged for every ship. Ships of freemen of the city were exempt.

Guige, the strap by which a shield was hung round the neck.

Gypcière, a hanging purse or pouch, from Fr. *gibecière*, a

game-pouch, because originally used in hawking.

Habergeon, a short, light hauberk, of which the word is a diminutive; usually therefore of mail, but sometimes merely a small plate for the defence of the throat and breast.

Haketon, a variety of gambeson, said to have been of buckskin stuffed with cotton.

Hall for hynds, servants' hall. Cp. Shak. *As You Like It*, i. 1. 20.

Hanse: (1) The entrance fee of a trading gild. (2) Any mercantile exaction, e.g. a toll paid by non-gildsmen for the privilege of trading in a town. (3) A synonym of the *gilda mercatoria*, the merchant gild of a town. (4) From this sometimes extended to a craft gild. (5) A society of merchants trading abroad. (6) A society of foreign merchants trading in England. (7) The confederation of North German States known as the Hanseatic League.

Helm, from the end of the twelfth century the word was confined to the great close casque which then came into use; e.g. Plates LIII, 12; LIII A.

Helmet, diminutive of **helm**, than which it was lighter, and originally a vizorless defence. The helm was often worn over it.

Herring-bone pattern, the placing of stones aslant in a wall so that each two rows form a succession of angles resembling the backbone of a herring.

Hobilar, -er, a light cavalry soldier. Probably so called from his wearing a *hobille*, i.e. a quilted jack, or gambeson, instead of metal armour; perhaps from his riding a 'hobby,' or small horse.

Hose-stocks, or **upper-stocks**, short breeches; 'nether-stocks' were hose.

Impale, to divide a shield vertically into halves, and charge a coat of arms on each half; Pl. LVIII, 3.

Jack, a general term for a coat of defence, whether wadded or of mail; but also especially used for the inexpensive body-garment of the ordinary soldier, formed of small pieces of metal secured between two folds of leather, canvas, or some quilted stuff.

Jambs, shin and calf plates. (Armour.)

Jazerine, light armour of small plates, or splints, of metal, riveted together or to some strong material.

Kirtle, tunic.

Lantern, or **Louvre**, a small open turret placed on a roof as an outlet for smoke.

Lanzknecht, a German pikeman, billman, or halberdier.

Latten, an alloy of copper and zinc, also known as *Cullen plate*, from Cologne, where it was principally fabricated, of which monumental brasses, seal-dies, candlesticks, crosses, &c. were largely made in the Middle Ages. It is what is now called 'cock-brass,' a specially hard mixed metal used for the cocks of casks and cisterns.

Launder, a person (of either sex) who washes linen.

Law merchant, the law common to mercantile transactions in England and abroad, declared in contested cases at fairs and markets by the assembled merchants, or before the King's Bench upon a summons from the Chief Justice issued to twelve merchants.

Lighterage, a duty levied on the discharge of cargo by foreign ships in mid stream from their

own boats, when they did not make use of English lighters; also the charge for the use of the latter.

Lights, the spaces between the mullions of a window. (Arch.)

Locket, a metal or leather band on a scabbard.

Luce, the heraldic term for the pike (fish, Lat. *lucius*).

Mazer, a wooden drinking bowl.

Members, mouldings, or subordinate parts of a building generally.

Millrind, the iron fixed to the centre of a millstone.

Mullet, a five-pointed spur-rowell. (Heraldry.)

Mullions, the vertical divisions of stone or wood between the lights of windows.

Murage, a port-due levied by authority of the Crown for the repair of the walls of seaport towns.

Nasal, the vertical nose-bar of a helmet.

Newel, the column round which a circular staircase winds.

Obedientiary, the holder of any office in a monastery under the abbot.

Ogee, an arch formed of a double curve, the lower convex, the upper concave: e.g. Pl. XIV, No. 5.

Orlop, Overlop, Du. *overloop*. In the early sixteenth century the word was applied to either of a vessel's two decks. Late in the reign of Elizabeth, a partial deck was introduced below the two usual ones for the carriage of stores and cables, and this was called a 'false orlop.' Later this deck was extended to the whole length of the ship, was always below the water-line, and was called, distinctively, the orlop.

Pallets, plates that protect the armpits. They superseded the mail gusset.

Parminter, a maker of short coats, or vestments, of skin with the fur on, or of well-dressed skins embroidered.

Passant gardant, walking past, but turning the head so as to show the full face. (Heraldry.)

Pavage, a duty levied on foreign merchants by way of contribution to the paving of the city (*Liber Albus, Tr.* Riley, 126).

Petronel, a firearm discharged from the chest (*poitrine*); in size midway between the pistol and the arquebus.

Pier, the mass of masonry between arches and other openings.

Pilaster, a square pillar, sometimes disengaged from, but generally attached to, a wall.

Pinched, plaited. (Costume.)

Points, ties, laces. (Costume.)

Poleyns, overlapping foot-plates. (Armour.)

Pomander, a scent-box.

Pontage, used in the three-fold sense of a duty levied for the repair of a bridge, and for the passing under or over it.

Postern, a private or subsidiary entrance; *lit.* a back-door. (Mil. Arch.)

Pourpoint, double stuff, padded or quilted (*perpunctum*). (Armour.)

Pretence, in, by way of claim (*prétendre*). (Heraldry.)

Protection, the policy of encouraging certain selected home industries by the discouragement or exclusion, by means of import duties, of competing commodities manufactured abroad.

Quainted, made stylish by dagging or scalloping. (Costume.)

Quarrel, a bolt with a four-sided pyramidal head. (Arms.)

Quarter, to arrange coats of arms

in sequence on a shield in accordance with the laws of armory.

Quoins, dressed corner-stones. (Arch.)

Rampant sinister, rampant, but facing to the left side of the shield; Pl. LVII, 6.

Regrators, purchasers who bought to sell again at an enhanced price. The word originally applied to purchasers by wholesale to sell by retail, but by the sixteenth century it had generally come to mean purchasers buying to sell at an enhanced price in the same market or fair, or within five miles thereof, which was a statutory offence. In this passage it is used as equivalent to 'engrossers,' or purchasers on a wholesale scale.

Reiters, or **Pistoliers**, light cavalry whose special weapons were a pair of wheel-lock pistols.

Repoussé, ornamentation in relief on metal, hammered out from behind.

Runes, inscriptions in ancient Scandinavian characters.

Scavage. 'Be it known that Scavage is so called as being a "shewing," because it behoves the merchants that they shew unto the Sheriffs the merchandise for which the custom is to be taken, before that any of it be sold.' Hence, the name for a duty levied on articles exposed to sale by persons not free of the city or corporate town. (See *Liber Albus*, *Tr.* Riley, 196–9.)

Sepulchre, Easter, a recess, or structure, on the north side of a chancel, used at Easter in the setting up of a representation of the burial of Christ; but often merely a temporary wooden erection.

Sewery, a store-room for provisions, linen, and other table-furniture.

Shingles, wooden tiles.

Sinister quarter, a quarter (Pl. LIV, 14) on the sinister or left side of a shield. (Heraldry.)

Spandrils, the two triangular spaces above the curves of an arch that is enclosed within a square moulding; e.g. Pl. XI.

Splayed: a window, or other opening, of which the sides are expanded by being slanted, is said to be splayed: a contracted form of 'displayed.'

Staple wares. 'Staple signifieth this or that towne or citie whither the merchants of England by common order or commandement did carrie their woolles, wool-fels, cloathes, leade and tinne [staple wares] and such like commodoties of our land for the utterance [sale] of them by the great [wholesale].'

String, or **String-course**, a horizontal line of projecting mouldings carried along a building.

Supportasses, wire supports for the ruff. (Costume.)

Supporters, usually two in number, and generally animals. They appear to support a shield, but had their origin in the fancy of early seal engravers, who thus filled up the unoccupied space in armorial seals. (Heraldry.)

Tokens, coins of copper, lead, tin, and occasionally even of leather, issued by private persons, often by tradesmen. Licences were sometimes issued for their coinage. When the royal currency was scarce, they obtained considerable circulation.

Tonnage, or **Tunnage**, a tax,

originally of 2*s.*, afterwards of 3*s.*, per tun, or ton, of 252 gallons of wine, first imposed by agreement with the merchants in 1347 for the purpose of paying the wage of ships of war acting as convoys to merchant vessels. At the same time a tax was imposed called poundage, at first 6*d.* and after 1406 1*s.* in the £, levied on exports and imports except wool and skins. These two taxes were from 1373 regularly granted by Parliament under the name of Tunnage and Poundage.

Transom, a thwart-bar of wood or stone extending across a window. A corruption of the Lat. *transtrum*.

Trick, to indicate the tinctures of a coat of arms by letters; from the Dutch *trekken*, to delineate.

Triptych, a folding tablet of three panels, of which the two outer form doors that fold over the central panel (cp. **Diptych**).

Trussed, tied. (Costume.)

Tuilles, plates suspended from the tassets; Fr. *tuile* = tile, Lat. *tegula*. (Armour.)

Tympanum, the semicircular or triangular space above a square-topped door which has an arch over it. Found commonly in Norman work, and usually filled with sculpture.

Umbo, the boss of a shield.

Ungentle, not befitting a gentleman.

Vert, green. (Heraldry.)

Waterbailage, Ballivagium, a duty levied by the City of London upon goods there shipped on foreign vessels for export.

Were, protect.

Wharfage: 'It is reasonable, considering the wharfes be repared at the cost of the private inhabitants of the same, and it is equitye, that the shippes approching theim and with their weight putting theim to stresse, ther shuld be made a recompence to the partye' (*Instructions of Hen. VIII to his plenipotentiaries in the Netherlands* 19 *April*, 1532).

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